

The U.S.
looks for
new enemies

PAGES 7-9

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 13, NO. 8

JAN. 11-17, 1989

\$1.25

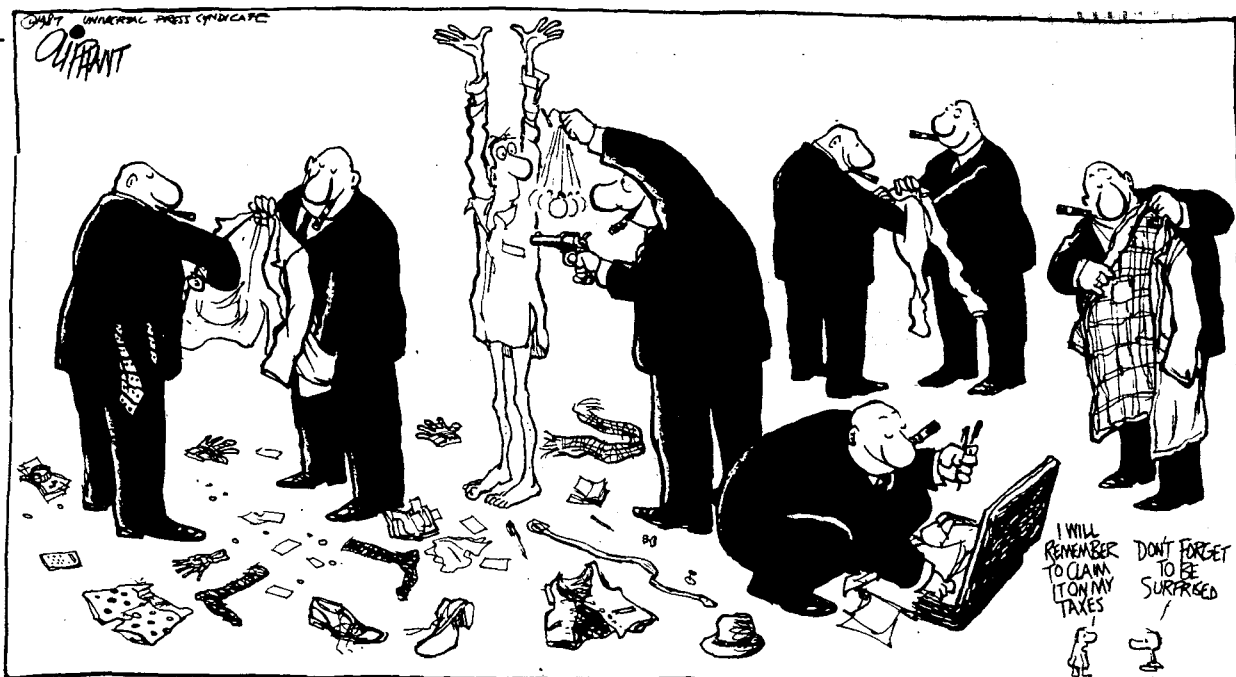
The Endless Simmer



A three-part series on the greenhouse effect

Dick Russell page 10

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"YOU WILL HAVE NO MEMORY OF HOW WE TOOK OUR PAY RAISE. YOU WILL FORGET YOU WERE MUGGED BY YOUR CONGRESSMEN. YOU WILL RECALL ONLY MAKING A CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTION..."

Should the government give itself a raise?

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

New Right leader Paul Weyrich and consumer activist Ralph Nader don't usually share the same platform, but last month they stood together at the National Press Club as a united front against a proposal to raise the salaries of federal judges, cabinet officials and members of Congress. The proposal was made by a presidential panel—and is backed by many of Nader and Weyrich's erstwhile allies on the left and right, from Common Cause's Fred Wertheimer to former Judge Robert Bork. Columnist and pay foe Pat Buchanan summed up the basis of the Nader-New Right alliance, "Populists, left and right, will be found on one side of this issue and the Establishment, Republican and Democrat, on the other."

The commission, chaired by Washington lawyer and former Carter administration official Lloyd Cutler, is recommending almost 50 percent across-the-board increases in federal pay. For instance, under the commission's proposals, the salary of a U.S. senator or representative would increase from \$89,500 a year to \$135,000 and that of a U.S. Court of Appeals judge would increase from \$95,000 to \$140,000 a year. According to 1985 law, if President Reagan includes these recommendations—or a modified version of them—in the budget he submits January 9, they will go into effect automatically in 30 days unless both the House and Senate vote on them and reject them. That is not likely. In 1987 the Senate rejected a pay increase, but House Speaker Jim Wright postponed a nega-

tive House vote on the increase until 31 days after the proposal, causing the increase to go through.

Judged against total federal expenditures (more than \$1.06 trillion in fiscal year 1988), the commission's proposal for an additional \$128 million in annual spending in fiscal 1990 is utterly insignificant. But the pay issue is of great symbolic importance. At the core of the controversy are certain anti-Washington sentiments that have been shared for at least a hundred years by parts of the right and the left. In the context of the pay fight, these sentiments bear close examination.

Abolishing honoraria: In its report to the president, the commission argued that federal salaries have not kept pace with private-sector salaries, causing an increasing number of resignations in the judiciary as well as a rapid turnover of high government officials. (Senior government officials currently last in their jobs an average of only 18 months, which is not long enough to master their responsibilities.) The commission did not propose making federal government salaries comparable to the salaries in the private sector (doing so would require 1,000 percent increases in some cases), but to the salaries of executives in non-profit firms and institutions. As things currently stand, Milwaukee's public health director earns \$118,000 a year and the school superintendent of Fairfax County, Va., earns \$104,000—more than either a senator or a secretary of state. The director of the New York Port Authority makes \$170,000—more than the chief justice of the Supreme Court or the country's vice president.

The commission also recommended eliminating congressional honoraria—the payments that House and Senate members receive for making speeches at industry, academic or labor functions. House members can currently use honoraria to increase their income by 30 percent and senators by 40 percent. As Common Cause has pointed out, business and other interests can use honoraria to buy officials. Last year, for instance, six members of the House Appropriations subcommittee on defense each received a \$2,000 honorarium from a military contractor hours before the subcommittee voted on a matter of great importance to the contractor.

If Congress were to accept the commission's proposals to raise salaries and ban honoraria, the net salary increases would be closer to 20 percent than to 50 percent. But in 1987 the Senate rejected a proposal for banning honoraria by a vote of 93-2.

Undeserving Congress: Both Nader and the New Right oppose the way pay increases are decided. They are backing a bill by Rep. Tom Tauke (R-IA) to compel Congress to take a roll call vote on pay proposals and then to have the proposals go into effect only after the next November election so that voters have a chance to vote candidates out of office who support pay raises.

Nader calls the current method of determining pay increases "unconstitutional" because Congress is not required to vote on these increases. (The Supreme Court rejected Nader's opinion last November.) By contrast, Common Cause opposes the current method because the

good-government group does not want Congress to have any say over its salaries. Citing the constitutional separation of powers, Common Cause wants the president's recommendation to take effect automatically.

Nader and the New Right use two kinds of arguments against the commission's proposal itself. First, they argue that the federal jobs in question are already paid adequately. Nader suggests that the disparities in pay between high government officials and the average worker are already too great. Second, Nader and the New Right make a political argument that, based on performance, the current members of Congress don't deserve a pay raise. Nader attacks the "hypocrisy" of Congress raising its own salaries while refusing to raise the national minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour. The New Right attacks Congress for the deficit and for opposing contra aid, "If the executives of a Fortune 500 company that lost money 20 straight years voted themselves 20 percent pay increases," Buchanan writes, "the same journalists now cheering these congressional pay raises would be clamoring for a congressional investigation."

The first argument—that high government jobs are already paid adequately—is worth debating. But the second—that, based on performance, Congress doesn't deserve pay increases—is pure demagoguery. If Nader and the New Right really believed that congressional pay should be determined by voting record, then they should propose paying members different rates according to what legislation the lawmakers oppose or support, whether it be a minimum wage bill or a deficit-reduction package.

Rate of attrition: Leaving aside one's view of the federal government's recent performance, should officials be paid more? Nader is certainly right about the wide disparities between the income of average workers—about \$28,000 a year—and those of high federal officials, but there is an equally wide and disturbing disparity between

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the income of federal officials and their counterparts in the private sector. This latter disparity is also important.

First, in a market society, the comparatively low pay for federal officials indicates the lack of esteem that Americans accord to government service. If a Supreme Court justice's contribution to society is as valuable as a corporate executive's, then taking into account the justice's greater perquisites (for instance, lifetime tenure), the judge should be paid roughly as much. This is the case, for instance, in Japan.

Second, the disparity between public and private income *does* affect the quality of public service—not necessarily at the highest jobs, where prestige and authority carry their own rewards—but at the level of assistant secretary of state or administrative aide to a senator. It is at these levels that both the federal government and Congress suffer the most damaging rate of attrition. Appointees to senior positions in both the executive and legislative branches tend increasingly to use these positions the same way that Nader's own poorly paid junior employees do: as stepping stones to more lucrative positions in the private, for-profit sector. Government suffers as a result.

Some of the Cutler commission's proposals may be too generous. For instance, if Congress does not abolish honoraria, then the pay increase may indeed prove to be excessive. But the commission's proposals nevertheless go part of the way toward remedying real problems. Nader's attack against pay disparities and against Congress' reluctance to raise the minimum wage is certainly admirable, but he could better employ his time by pressuring Congress and corporate America on these issues than forming united fronts with the New Right against governmental pay raises. Nader and the New Right's position reflects a kind of puerile populism against government just at a time when government's social and economic responsibilities are rapidly increasing. □

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1989 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 13, No. 8) published Jan. 11, 1989, for newsstand sales Jan. 11-17, 1989.

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

THE BONE-JARRING GAME OF POLITICS Chicago-style has played out in stark terms of reform vs. machine and black vs. white in recent years. But in the upcoming mayoral election, all the major candidates claim to be "progressives" who want to unify the city. But beneath that apparent similarity the old issues persist.

Since Mayor Harold Washington's death a little more than a year ago, Acting Mayor Eugene Sawyer has ambled along, cutting an amiable but weak figure, supporting much of Washington's agenda but usually in a watered-down form. Meanwhile, more than a dozen potential challengers have jockeyed for position, waiting both for the courts to determine whether an election would be held in 1989 or 1991 and for a glimpse of what other candidates would enter the race.

Now the balloting is set for this year, and the list of candidates has been winnowed. In the February 28 Democratic primary Sawyer, who is black, will face Cook County State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, son of Richard J. Daley, the infamous boss of the city's Democratic machine and mayor for 21 years. The other major Democratic candidate is Alderman Larry Bloom, a white liberal Washington ally who represents a largely black ward. Bloom started with a smaller base of support than the others but has the best credentials to carry on Washington's reform politics.

White flight: After Daley announced his candidacy in early December, other white ethnic machine candidates dropped out. Daley is not universally liked among white machine Democrats, in part because many blame him for splitting white votes with Mayor Jane Byrne in 1983, permitting Washington to win the Democratic primary. But he clearly had strong enough support from white ethnic voters, machine functionaries and the city's business and media establishment to squeeze out rivals.

He also scared off any big-name Republicans. The Republican Party, long insignificant in local races, has picked up some turncoat Democrats in recent years in reaction to the rise of black political power. Promises by the local Republican chairman that Byrne or longtime Washington foe Ed Vrdolyak would run as a Republican did not become reality, and the party is left to choose among a long list of political nonentities. But many Republicans, including Gov. James Thompson, will be quite happy with a victory of their kind of Democrat, namely Daley.

Sawyer's main asset is his incumbency, which has helped him raise nearly \$3 million, more than any other candidate so far. But many black voters distrust him, in large part because he was elected acting mayor in a tumultuous city council meeting with the backing of Washington's white opponents and a few machine-oriented black city council members. During his year in office he has replaced many of Washington's staff with people Washington had rejected, such as machine politicians or the anti-Semitic black nationalist Steve Cokely. Sawyer dallied in firing Cokely last spring after the mayoral aide's paranoid conspiracy teachings were made public, thereby triggering a civic outburst of ill will that damaged the fragile Washington coalition as much as it hurt Sawyer. Black political relationships were strained not only with Jews but also with



Richard M. Daley: the late mayor's son gets 90 percent of his strength from his name.

The ghost of Harold Washington meets the ghost of Richard Daley

other white liberals and Hispanics.

The Evans factor: Sawyer has ended up with a moderately favorable image around the city but little solid support. Among blacks the favorite candidate throughout the year has been Alderman Tim Evans, Washington's council floor leader and Sawyer's main rival in the council voting on Washington's successor a year ago. Evans became "the movement candidate," the leader of the most self-consciously anti-machine remnants of the Washington coalition. It was an odd role for a bright, personally conservative young lawyer who had been a loyal machine protege until Washington's 1983 campaign and had often been attacked by anti-machine independents as an ineffective alderman. But Evans apparently underwent a real change of heart under Washington's tutelage, and even though he rarely generates new ideas, he has become a fairly consistent advocate of local neighborhood-oriented, coalition politics.

Evans strategists had at first counted on either forcing Sawyer out of the primary race or holding him to under 5 percent of the black vote. With a sizable chunk of the Hispanic vote—which accounts for about 7 percent of the total vote but also is a critical swing vote between the nearly equal black and white blocs—and with about 10 to 14 percent of white ballots, Evans could win. Yet Sawyer refused to budge, and Evans' polling showed the mayor hanging on to about a fifth of the black vote in mid-December, raising doubts about the possibility of squishing him down to a residual tally.

So on December 29 Evans announced that he was withdrawing from the Democratic primary and running for mayor in the April 4

general election as candidate of the newly formed Harold Washington Party. For the past year Evans has laid claim to being the rightful heir to Washington, so much so that some wags suspected he might try to change his name, not his party, to Harold Washington.

Much of the Washington coalition was ready to make him their champion, even if he did not personally excite them, but during the past year he has not been able to stake out a clear alternative leadership to Sawyer. With the addition of the other frictions that developed—for example, the Cokely affair—that failure to assert leadership has meant Evans now is less well-known and has much less support among Hispanics and white liberals than Washington.

Is being black good enough? Sawyer, dubbed "Mayor Mumbles" for his speech style, has not done so badly in office despite his capitulation to machine politicians of both races on patronage and perks. Thus some black ministers, businessmen and politicians are unwilling to dump a black incumbent. Alderman Danny Davis, a leading black progressive who abandoned his mayoral bid to support Evans, argues that only about 20 percent of either the black or white communities in Chicago is truly interested in liberal or reform politics. For many blacks, Sawyer's being black is good enough, just as for many whites it's reason enough not to support him—although racial politics has become more muted, and even Daley's campaign focus groups reveal that whites express positive feelings about Washington.

Evans was unable to make Sawyer disappear or become irrelevant, and his independent bid came in response to polling data, fundraising problems and advice of many

supporters. It is an especially risky strategy in Chicago because so many voters, especially Hispanics but also some white ethnics and poorer blacks, are automatic Democrats. Evans strategist Jim Andrews argued that the Washington Party name was chosen as the only ballot symbol powerful enough to compete with the Democratic label among a small but potentially decisive number of voters who are not very literate, have poor vision or simply vote Democratic out of loyalty.

With Evans out of the Democratic primary, Bloom hopes that both white and black anti-machine voters will see him as the alternative to the black machine candidate, Sawyer, and the white machine candidate, Daley. But many blacks are likely to back Sawyer simply because he's black, even if they prefer Evans, who endorsed no one in the Democratic primary.

Taking aim: The main target for Bloom, Sawyer and Evans is now Daley, the candidate leading in an early December poll by the *Chicago Tribune*. Daley has a fuzzy positive image among ethnic whites and Hispanics, and even among a chunk of white middle-class liberals and blacks. Clearly his main asset—accounting for 90 percent of his strength—is his name. But his associations with his father and the machine are also his Achilles heel. Consequently Daley is campaigning as a candidate above the combat of local politics. He's also touting his accomplishments as state's attorney—portraying himself as a tough prosecutor who has also pushed nursing home reform, removal of sales tax from food and medicine and enforcement of child support payments. "A voice of reason, a record of accomplishment," claim his early TV commercials.

"Strategically something has to crack on Daley," argues Evans strategist Don Rose. "He can't be permitted to maintain this 'I have been above the fray' kind of thing. Daley has a record of divisiveness, especially on racial lines, a record of participation in this battle—sometimes firsthand, but always secondhand—that give a lie to his claim. And Daley is the kind of guy if you can crack, you can break."

One new crack emerged in Christmas day news stories that employees of Daley's prosecutor office or their family members had circulated petitions with forged signatures in a 1985-86 drive to make Chicago mayoral elections nonpartisan, a move that many thought would help Daley defeat Washington. In early January Daley finally asked the courts to appoint a special prosecutor to examine petition fraud. So far his office has brought no charges against those suspected of fraud, a continuation of the old machine-style corruption and cover-up.

Despite his claims to have saved customers \$500 million in utility bills, Daley was a major backer of a Commonwealth Edison plan to raise rates opposed by all consumer groups and the Washington administration. And his record as prosecutor shows primarily attention to political show, not real effectiveness in reducing crime and certainly not in respecting civil liberties.

"The issue with beating Rich [Daley] is, 'Can you demythologize him?'" says Andrews. That is clearly the first, essential step for his opponents, especially as some white and Hispanic liberals join Daley. But even if that succeeds, each challenger to the Daley resurrection carries his own handicaps into the battle with the machine's crown prince. □

By Joel Bleifuss

Third World blight

Last year Davison L. Budhoo resigned from his position as an economist at the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the 151-nation intergovernmental economic agency. He then set out to "enlighten public opinion" about the IMF's role and operations in the Third World. His first act of enlightenment was a 150-page letter of resignation to IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus. The letter began: "Dear Mr. Camdessus: Today I resigned from the staff of the IMF after over 12 years, and 1,000 days of official Fund work in the field, hawking your medicines and your bag of tricks to governments and to people in Latin America and the Caribbean and Africa. To me resignation is a priceless liberation, for with it I have taken the first big step to that place where I may hope to wash my hands of what in my mind's eye is the blood of millions of poor and starving peoples. Mr. Camdessus, the blood is so much, you know, it runs in rivers. It dries up too; it cakes all over me; sometimes I feel there is not enough soap in the whole world to cleanse me from the things that I did in your name..." The letter goes on to detail instances of IMF corruption, self-interest and deceit. In an interview with Anthony Swift in *The New Internationalist*, a monthly published in Oxford, England, Budhoo discussed the origins of the IMF. "The IMF was never designed to help the Third World or end poverty," he said. "It was established by the Bretton Woods conference of 1944 to restore economic and financial order to the Western world. There was no element of compassion for humanity in its formulation. The Fund's aim is first and foremost to secure the interests of developed countries." **Guns not butter:** One of the institutions that helps "secure the interests of developed countries" is a healthy military-industrial complex. The IMF has never suggested that a country cut its defense spending, police force or public-control budget, said Budhoo. Instead, it is basic services and price subsidies for the poor that always end up on the chopping block. Budhoo explained, "It's one thing to push around countries and say, 'OK you have to treat the poor that way.' But with the arms industry you are talking about very powerful people—both inside and outside the country. They won't be pushed around. They are supposed to be among those who benefit. With the U.S. being an IMF shareholder and with the staff taking its cue from the U.S., who is the IMF to tell a country to limit its arms expenditure? You can tell them to let people die, but not to limit their arms." For example, according to a 1987 UNICEF study, the IMF required one-third of the countries it helped in the early '80s to reduce government food subsidies. In some cases the result was a dramatic increase in child malnutrition.

Heritage Foundation— an unregistered foreign agent?

The South Korean National Assembly's investigation of wholesale corruption in the government of former South Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan may have turned up some dirt on a key ally of the Reagan-Bush administration. The former South Korean intelligence director, Chang Se Tong, testified last November that his agency, the KCIA, gave money in the early '80s to the right-wing Heritage Foundation of Washington, D.C. Perhaps not coincidentally, in 1982 the Heritage Foundation set up the Asian Studies Center, which then welcomed as its first fellow one of President Chun's closest advisers, Gen. Huh Wha Pyung, a former director of military intelligence. In his testimony Chang refused to say if the Heritage Foundation was given \$2.2 million—the figure mentioned on a government document uncovered by National Assembly investigators. The Washington-based North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea notes: "U.S. law requires organizations that receive major funding or policy direction from any foreign entity to register with the Justice Department as a foreign agent. No record of the Heritage Foundation registration could be located."

Undercover dicks

An underreported news story of 1988 was Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's crackdown on sanitary code scofflaws. One day last June undercover environmental health agents arrested six men for failing to flush public urinals. A Singapore newspaper



Martyred labor leader Chico Mendes with daughter Elenira and son Sandino.

Chico Mendes: rubber tapper, union leader and environmentalist

Francisco "Chico" Mendes Filho, 44, had survived six previous assassination attempts. But on the evening of Dec. 22, 1988, in the river town of Xapuri in Brazil's remote western state of Acre, a hired gun of Brazilian landowners put a bullet through Chico Mendes' chest as he went to bathe in his backyard outhouse.

Mendes, president of the 70,000-member National Rubber Tappers Union, had become famous for his militant defense of the Amazon rain forest and its traditional inhabitants. In the violent backdrop of the Amazon frontier, Mendes' work had earned him the U.N.'s "Global 500" environmental award in 1987. It also made him a marked man.

Mendes' primary concern was less the "greenhouse effect" than the "human effect"—the impact of deforestation on his fellow *seringueiros*, or rubber tappers.

At the age of seven, Mendes learned to tap the wild trees for rubber latex and to hunt for food. "Every day I would wake at four in the morning, make a big pot of coffee and prepare a meal of manioc flour and deer or monkey meat," Mendes once recalled. "Then at 5:30 I would put on my work clothes, pick up my machete and shotgun, and set off on one of the trails into the forest. The dawn is party time for all the animals in the forest, and I would hunt. Then it would take me about four hours to complete the rubber trail, tapping into each tree on the way and placing the little cups to catch the rubber."

The forest provided Mendes' only education until he met a dissident army officer who had fled to the jungle following the 1964 military coup. The officer, who began tapping

rubber near Mendes, took a liking to the youth and taught him reading, writing and, according to Mendes, "the principles behind trade unionism."

In the '70s Mendes began to challenge the exploitation of the *seringueiros* by rubber merchants, land speculators and cattle barons. The Brazilian government had begun cutting a road into Acre, and cattle ranchers and land speculators from southern Brazil moved in, slashing and burning vast sections of the forest. Often the rubber tappers would return home at the end of the day only to find a pile of ashes. On what was once lush jungle, the ranchers then grazed the cattle that would help North Americans satisfy their craving for fast-food hamburgers.

Opposition to this environmental and human destruction was fostered by the left wing of the Catholic Church that brought in union organizers to help train the rubber tappers. Mendes became the first general secretary of the first rural union formed in Acre. As such he pressed for a closer alliance between Acre's rubber tappers and other exploited groups in the state, including small farmers and Indians. During military rule Mendes was arrested and tortured three times.

For the past 10 years, Mendes and the rubber tappers have tried to protect their rain forests through non-violent actions called *empates* (standoffs). During these acts of civil disobedience the rubber tappers would come with their entire family to confront the chainsaw crews that cleared the forest for the ranchers.

In April 1988 workers cutting the forest for two ranchers, Darli and Alvarino Alves, fired on a group of rubber tappers staging an *empeate*. Two people were wounded. To head off further violence Acre's governor declared the area an "extractive reserve." This became the first forest area to be officially protected for the

tappers.

The idea of extractive reserves was born in Mendes' hometown of Xapuri. There, communities of rubber tappers, faced with plummeting world rubber prices, had gradually established semiautonomous areas for tapping not only rubber latex but other forest resources that required no clearcutting: Brazil nuts, chicle nuts, palm fiber, and medicinal plants and oils.

It was Mendes' effective organizing in the fight for extractive reserves that cost him his life, for it threatened Acre's land speculators and ranchers who stake claim to land by clearing the forest and planting pasture—a process that leaves the Amazon soil unproductive after a few years' use.

Mendes is one of many Brazilians who have been slain in land disputes. According to Amnesty International, since 1980 more than 1,000 rural workers have been killed by paramilitary forces that are organized by ranchers.

But in a larger sense, these assassinated rural organizers and the dwindling rain forests are victims of an international banking system that forces Third World countries to emphasize short-term gains at the expense of both the poor and the environment. The Brazilian government subsidizes deforestation of the Amazon to promote agricultural exports that bring in foreign exchange to help pay the \$120 billion foreign debt.

Soon after the April 1988 *empeate* that foiled the Alves brothers' claims to the land, it became common knowledge that the ranchers had placed a bounty on Mendes' head. It was not a threat Mendes took lightly. In an interview just before his death, Mendes denounced a conspiracy against his life that he said included both the Alves brothers and the regional superintendent of Acre's federal police. The two brothers are now wanted by the police.

With his martyrdom, Mendes has attained in Brazil a stature comparable to that of Martin Luther King in the U.S. After one attempt on his life, Mendes told friends. "We know that there are powerful enemies ahead—

enemies with the power of capital—the large landowners that have dominated this country since its discovery. But if the ranchers think that killing one person will stop our struggle, they are wrong."

At Mendes' funeral service, the head of a rural workers union vowed: "Not one more tree will be cut down in Acre."

—Glen Switkes and Linda Rabben

Brazil puts ecologically minded Indian chiefs and U.S. anthropologist on trial

The Brazilian government is prosecuting two Indian chiefs and an American anthropologist for speaking out against development in the Amazon. But their trial has become an embarrassment for Brazil, coming on the heels of President Jose Sarney's October declaration that his government would move to halt the headlong destruction of the rain forest.

Brazilian federal police have charged two Kaiapo chiefs, Kube-i and Paiakan, and one 41-year-old Kentucky anthropologist, Darrell Posey, with breaking a law that bars foreigners from interfering in Brazil's domestic affairs.

The charges stem from a February 1988 trip the three made to Washington, D.C., to lobby against a \$500 million World Bank loan that Indians and environmentalists claim would enable the government to build what would be Brazil's largest hydroelectric project. The project would be a series of dams that would flood a vast jungle valley and displace thousands of Indians.

The trial marks the first time Indians have been prosecuted as aliens in Brazil. It is also the first time the "foreigners statute," originally enacted by a military government, has been used since Brazil returned to civilian rule in 1985. Conviction carries a one- to three-year sentence or expulsion from the country.

The venue is the colonial city of Belem, the capital of the jungle state of Para, at the mouth of the Amazon River 1,000 miles north of Brazilia.

Chief Kube-i arrived at his latest court appearance in October with an entourage of 400 Kaiapo warriors in ceremonial battle dress: red and black war paint, mussel-shell necklaces, beaded arm bands and cotton gym shorts—the modern day substitute for the traditional penis sheath.

The warriors danced, sang and shot arrows into a mango tree outside the courthouse as Kube-i went to testify before federal Judge Iran Velasco do Nascimento. But the judge refused to allow the disrespectfully dressed chief to enter the court and postponed the trial until the spring. In the meantime, he ordered court psychologists to assess the Kaiapo's level of integration into modern Brazilian society.

Chief Paiakan said Kube-i and he traveled to the U.S. "to defend the



Chief Paiakan addresses a meeting of the Brazilian Indian Movement.

rain forest and the people who live here. We are the first Brazilians. We are the ones who must guard the forest for the whole world." Anthropologist Posey was the chiefs' translator during meetings with congressional leaders, World Bank directors, Treasury and State Department officials, environmental groups and North American Indian organizations.

Kube-i and Paiakan complained bitterly of not being consulted, or even kept informed, of the Brazilian government's decision to build a massive hydroelectric project on the Xingu River, a tributary of the Amazon located about 300 miles from Belem. They said the project would inundate more than 19 million acres of remote forest and displace at least 8,500 Indians, among them thousands of Kaiapo.

The government has sought to quell the growing international criticism of Brazil's rain forest policies. In October President Sarney announced measures to slow the rapid destruction of the Amazon rain forest. But Brazil still suffers a lack

of both the political will and the means to protect its environment. In September the frustrated head of Brazil's environment agency, Roberto Messias Franco, resigned saying the government "pulled the rug from under me."

Moreover, according to Posey, the government Indian agency, FUNAI, allows illegal mining and logging operations to encroach on protected reservations. Posey said FUNAI has also expelled all of his closest colleagues from Indian territories throughout the Amazon. And he said his own research on medicinal plants is "paralyzed" because he is prohibited from working in any Indian area as long as the case is pending.

After the October hearing, the Kaiapo warriors vowed that if any of the three defendants were expelled, authorities would need an airplane big enough to carry them all away. Then the men began their journey home, 15 hours by bus and bush plane to the Xingu River where their clearings dot a forest that once seemed endless. —Jon Christensen

A Kaiapo warrior in full battle regalia.



the *Straits Times* explained, "Failure to flush the urinal after use is considered a public nuisance under the Penal Code Chapter 224." The crime carries a fine of up to \$100. The *Straits Times* article, "Environmental Health Officers: The Unsung Heroes of a Dirty Job," reported how the plainclothed unit of sanitary police got their men. They took "turns going into the toilet and while washing their hands or pretending to use the urinal, kept an eye out for litterbugs, vandals and other abusers." And on the same day that the six were arrested, a Singapore judge fined a man \$75 for urinating in an elevator. The man was apprehended after the elevator jammed. According to the *Strait Times* his unauthorized activity caused the elevator's "urine sensor to activate the janining mechanism." He was convicted on the basis of a video tape recording of the event taken by a hidden camera.

Native sons

It is sometimes good to be reminded that anti-Zionism was not always equated with anti-Semitism. Peter Gay reports in his new book, *Freud: A Life for Our Time*, that in 1930 Albert Einstein wrote Sigmund Freud asking him what he thought of Zionism. Freud replied: "I don't believe that Palestine will ever become a Jewish state and that the Christian and the Islamic world will ever be prepared to leave their shrines in Jewish hands. It would have seemed more comprehensible to me to found a Jewish fatherland on new, historically unencumbered soil." Gay writes that Freud went on to say that such a "rational attitude" would never enlist "the enthusiasm and the resources of the rich," and that he regretted seeing the "unrealistic fanaticism" of his fellow Jews awaken the suspicions of the Arabs. Said Freud, "I can muster no sympathy for the misguided piety that makes a national religion from a piece of the wall of Herod and for its sake challenges the feelings of the local natives."

Victims of unrequited lust

In the wake of reports that the South African military engages in the illegal trade of elephant ivory ("In Short," Nov. 23), two members of the South African military and three U.S. citizens have now been indicted in Connecticut for trafficking in machine guns, black rhinoceros horns and leopard and cheetah skins. Todd Steiner and Susan Elan report to *In These Times* that these indictments follow an eight-month federal investigation. According to the U.S. Justice Department, the two officers of the elite South African Defense Forces obtained 14 rhinoceros horns from South African troops in Angola. The South Africans transported the horns to Namibia via military vehicles. They were subsequently shipped to the U.S., where John Lukman of Newington, Conn., one of the Americans indicted, sold one of the horns to an undercover agent for \$40,000. Trade in black rhino horns is banned under the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species that is signed by both the U.S. and South Africa. Only 4,000 black rhinos survive today, down from 65,000 in 1970. Powdered rhino horn, selling at \$450 per ounce in the U.S. and as high as \$1,000 in the Mideast and Eastern Asia, is one of the world's most sought-after aphrodisiacs.

In memory of Jessie Lloyd O'Connor

Labor journalist Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, a longtime *In These Times* supporter, died on Christmas Eve in Little Compton, R.I., after a short illness. She was 84. Born on St. Valentine's Day 1904 to a wealthy and radical Chicago family, Lloyd O'Connor dedicated her life to the left. Upon graduation from Smith College, she embarked for Europe where she covered the British general strike, the League of Nations and the progress of the Russian Revolution for the Federated Press, a labor news service. She fell in love with and married her editor Harvey O'Connor. They spent the next half century in the trenches of left politics, a life that is recounted in their dual autobiography *Harvey and Jessie: A Couple of Racials* (see *In These Times*, Nov. 16, 1988). Lloyd O'Connor is remembered for several gems of wisdom, including "Compromise if you can, but fight if you must." A firm believer in the need for a left press, Jesse was one of *In These Times*' first sustainers, helping us through more than a few tight periods. She is survived by son Stephen L. O'Connor and daughter Kathleen M. O'Connor as well as three grandchildren, two brothers, one sister and one aunt.

New names for the same old death squads

By Chris Norton

SAN SALVADOR

THE RETURN ADDRESS ON THE ENVELOPE read "Company for the Extermination of Insects." It carried the introductory letter of a new death squad here named the Central American Anticomunist Hand.

Earlier that morning a powerful bomb had ripped through the offices of the Lutheran Church at 3 a.m. Only five days earlier, on December 23, a squad of 20 to 30 men had cut through the fence surrounding the National University and gunned down a guard armed with only a flashlight. The squad set three powerful bombs that left the biology department in ruins.

The rightist bombings and the new so-called anti-communist death squads appear to be a response to accelerating attacks by leftist guerrillas. The rebel offensive, which began last September, is their strongest push since 1983. In the past three weeks guerrilla "urban commandos" have boldly attacked the air force base and the army high command with explosive charges launched by homemade catapults.

Although the army issued a statement saying, "We cannot support, under any circumstances, the formation of groups that take the law into their own hands," and promised to investigate the new death squads, many

observers here believe the military is responsible for the bombings and suspect that the shadowy new anti-communist groups are merely a smokescreen to hide the army's role in the increasing repression.

ARDE [the Spanish acronym for the Revolutionary Anti-communist Action of Extermination, the first of the groups to surface], like the other anti-communist organizations,

EL SALVADOR

is part of death squads linked directly to the Salvadoran army," says a representative of the non-governmental Human Rights Commission, whose president, Herbert Anaya, was assassinated a year ago.

"We don't want to point the finger, but the government is the only one responsible for the total impunity with which these phantom groups operate," says Ruben Zamora, a leftist leader allied with the rebels. Zamora, who earlier this year returned to El Salvador to participate in the upcoming presidential elections, is among the long list of labor opposition leaders and leftists who have been threatened by the death squads.

Taking the offensive: Political analysts say that despite the army's public statements disparaging the escalating guerrilla attacks as "a sign of weakness" and desperate "terrorist actions," many top army leaders are

privately concerned about the attacks and believe additional measures must be taken to combat them.

"While they [top army leaders] are not worried about an immediate guerrilla victory, they feel the situation is serious," notes one source with close contacts in the military. "They feel vulnerable and weak, and that's when you strike out."

The army deployed 3,000 troops in San Salvador during the Christmas holidays to combat the urban guerrilla commandos, but that didn't prevent the attacks on the air force or the high command. The military is known to want increased powers to arrest and detain suspects and move against groups sympathetic to the rebels, such as the National University and the labor opposition, the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS).

Ideally the army would like to increase controls over the resettlement sites for refugees who have returned from long exiles in Honduras. It accuses the repatriates, who live in some of the most conflictive parts of the country, of collaborating with the guerrillas.

In addition, more than two dozen mayors resigned in recent weeks following guerrilla threats and the killings of eight mayors last year who didn't heed the warnings. This is crippling the government's ability to project itself in the countryside, a key component of the Vietnam-style counterinsurgency plan.

National University Rector Luis Argueta accused the army of the December 23 bombing of the National University's biology department, saying that witnesses said some in the squad of armed men who carried out the bombing were in uniform and that footprints of military-type boots were discovered afterward. In addition, other witnesses say that a military circle was established around the university before the bombing.

The army has taken over the university—which is a center of left activity—several times, most recently in 1980, when it closed down the campus for four years and sacked most of the buildings. Immediately following the December 23 guerrilla attack on the army high command, Defense Minister Vides Casanova mentioned that a state of seige and curfews might be reimplemented at the university.

Pointing the finger: In recent months four university workers have been assassinated, most recently a university driver whose van was intentionally forced off the road on December 23.

The December 16 assassination of Imelda

Medrano, the head of the University Law School in the eastern city of Santa Ana, seems to show clear military involvement. She was returning from a university demonstration in the capital where she had been one of the main speakers. After she got off her bus, a man shot her five times from behind. He then escaped in a waiting car.

Family members think Medrano knew she was being followed, since the route she had taken wasn't her usual one. She had been concerned two days earlier when family members noticed that their house was being watched by what they described as a "death squad vehicle"—a rust-colored Toyota Land Cruiser with the license plate P23-128. After Medrano's assassination, relatives say police officers drove to their house in the same Toyota jeep to deliver the customary police forms for relatives to fill out about her murder.

This type of police behavior might seem reckless and brazen. But this is El Salvador, where, despite more than 50,000 political murders, no officer has ever been convicted. In the case of Imelda Medrano, it is highly unlikely that a serious official investigation of her murder will ever be conducted. "Besides, in this type of killing they want you to know who did it," says a relative who requested anonymity.

Easy target: While Lutheran Bishop Medardo Gomez officially declined to point the finger at anybody for the bombing of the Lutheran Church offices, many in the church believe the military was responsible. Witnesses say soldiers and members of the national guard were present before and immediately after the bombing.

Gomez noted that the bombing may have been carried out "because of the church's work in favor of the poor, the displaced and the refugees—victims of the war who don't trust the security forces or the government." The military frequently impedes the church's delivery of food and medicine to refugee camps. The army and its rightist allies also are increasingly accusing the church's foreign members who work with these populations of being outside agitators.

Gomez says he regularly receives telephoned death threats. In November 1983 he was abducted by a death squad that eventually left him with the National Police. In August 1987 a bomb was placed in the Lutheran-run refugee camp called Faith and Hope.

While the strongly anti-communist military also distrusts the Roman Catholic Church, the smaller and less influential Lutheran Church is a much easier target. □

Chris Norton is *In These Times'* correspondent in El Salvador.

ATTENTION: HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS "Eyewitness Israel"

In response to Israel's attempts to suppress news and information about the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, "Eyewitness Israel" will send teams of American field observers to the area to monitor continued Israeli violence and human rights abuses during the current Palestinian uprising.

WHAT: Field observers will spend 3 weeks in Palestinian towns and villages. Participants will be hosted by local families and will monitor and report on Israeli activities in their area.

WHO: Interested American human rights and peace activists may apply. Priority will be given to those with organizational affiliations and a demonstrated record of activism, particularly specialists in the fields of medicine, journalism, law, religion, and human rights.

WHEN: Delegations will be sent every month through May 1989.

COST: \$1,000 per participant. (Includes orientation session in Washington, D.C. and travel to and accommodations in the occupied territories.)

SPONSOR: The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), a non-sectarian, non-partisan service organization committed to defending the rights and promoting the heritage of Arab-Americans.

If you would like to apply or your organization would like to sponsor an observer, please contact:

"Eyewitness Israel"
4201 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20008
Tel: (202) 244-2990

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Muammar Khadafi: does he play into new U.S. plans on how to use military force?

Libya: first little hot war to follow the Cold War

By Diana Johnstone

IN 1988 THE COLD WAR BETWEEN THE U.S. AND the Soviet Union seemed to be coming to an end. Hope rose for a world at peace. But the way the U. S. is starting off 1989 suggests that the loss of one enemy will be made up for by others. The big Cold War will be replaced by a variety of little hot ones. Lines between "our side" and "their side" will no longer be clearly drawn.

No sooner were tensions easing with Moscow than invective was mounting toward Bonn. No sooner had the U.S. agreed to speak to the Palestine Liberation Organization

FOREIGN POLICY

(PLO) than it started threatening to bomb Libya again.

These developments are closely linked. They are part of a threat shift from the Soviet

Union to the Third World in general and Arabs in particular, giving the U.S. a free hand to use military force when and where it chooses. As Dimitri K. Simes pointed out in *The New York Times*, "The Soviet-American rapprochement makes military power more useful as a U.S. foreign policy instrument. Removing the constant concern about Soviet counteraction would permit Washington greater reliance on military force in a crisis."

Looking for enemies: For domestic American consumption, this free hand has to be justified by a new enemy of overwhelming evil. Muammar Khadafi has of course long been groomed for the role. But without the backing of the Evil Empire in Moscow, he lacks the stature of a world-class threat. The Germans are historically a top-grade threat. Eureka! Thanks to exclusive satellite

photos and unverifiable intelligence reports, we are offered, lurking behind Khadafi, a villain recognizable to all viewers of old movies: the Germans, in their Nazi role.

Times columnist William Safire immediately began to exploit the propagandistic potential of U.S. allegations that German firms provided technology for the Libyan pharmaceuticals plant in Rabta accused by the U.S. (without proof) of manufacturing chemical weapons. In a January 2 column of rare viciousness, Safire accused "the Germans" of arming Khadafi with chemical weapons (the technology for both the arms factory and the delivery system) in order to shoot "poison gas bombs" at "Tel Aviv residents who are descendants of those forced to breathe Cyclon-B at Auschwitz."

U.S. officials published such accusations without providing either the public or German authorities with the evidence they

The way Washington is starting off the new year suggests that the loss of one American enemy will be made up for by others.

claimed to have that the plant at Rabta manufactures chemical weapons; German firms provided the relevant technology; or the hypothetical weapons were intended for offensive use against Israel. Repeated Libyan offers to let an international commission of experts inspect the plant were contemptuously brushed aside by U.S. officials. So were offers by various Europeans to take up the Libyan offer of inspection.

The official U.S. deduction, echoed by Safire, that because the industrial complex is "ringed by anti-aircraft defenses" it must be making chemical weapons, would be more convincing if such defenses could not be perfectly logically explained by months of mounting U.S. threats to attack it.

The American accusations were made as specialists readied to meet in Paris to study how to ban chemical weapons effectively. (The outcome of those meetings will be reported in upcoming *In These Times* issues). By firing grave and unproven accusations before the opening of the international conference on chemical weapons, the U.S.

Continued on following page

How the air tragedy in Scotland could endanger Mideast peace efforts

Intent on starting the New Year with a symbolic exercise in Israeli-style "reprisal" raids, the U.S. administration has found more than just one pretext for trying out sea-launched cruise missiles on the Libyan pharmaceuticals plant in Rabta. Aside from the plant's alleged chemical weapons production capacity, it may be destroyed as "vengeance" for the bomb destruction of Pan American World Airways Flight 103 to New York that fell on the Scottish town of Lockerbie last December 21.

This possibility was being transmitted to alarmed European governments without even the shadow of a clue linking the sabotage to Libya. But perhaps U.S. officials were counting on extracting an accusation against Libya from Yassir Arafat, as the next step in his laborious initiation rites into the international chapter of "Skull and Bones."

Flight 103 began at Frankfurt. British investigators suggested the bomb had been put in the through baggage there, rather than in London's Heathrow. Insisting that their safety controls were stringent, Germans let it be known that the only baggage they failed to check were five bags under U.S. jurisdiction—a bank bag from Hanover Manufacturers and four bags of U.S. overseas military mail. The

German weekly *Bunte* suggested that the fatal bomb had been smuggled onto the airliner in a U.S. Army post office mail parcel.

In the absence of any immediate lead, the favored hypothesis was that the murder of the 259 people aboard the Pan Am jet, along with at least 11 people in Lockerbie, was linked to the U.S. recognition of the PLO exactly one week earlier. While plausible, this hypothesis provided little clue as to the exact identity of the killers. The FBI said it could not rule out the possibility that the bomb was aimed at a particular passenger. The plot thickens if the victim described as a "Middle East expert." Beirut-posted American diplomat Matthew Gannon, played a sensitive role or was even, as reported, the CIA desk chief—a job with a particularly high risk potential (see "The U.S. ties that blind," *In These Times*, Dec. 14, 1988).

Most commentators suggested that the aircraft was bombed in order to sabotage the PLO-U.S. rapprochement. How would this work? The new hard-line Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Ahrens declared that the attack "reminds us of the threat of terrorism and teaches that international legitimacy shouldn't be given to organizations like the PLO." However, in-

asmuch as the attack was almost universally interpreted as an attack on and not by the PLO, it could not in itself break the new PLO-U.S. connection.

Indirectly, it could cause trouble for the PLO.

The trouble is linked to the fact that there are both Arab and Israeli rejectionists anxious to sabotage the U.S.-PLO dialogue. Thus suspicion is directed not only at Abu Nidal and Ahmed Jibril, but also at Israel's Mossad. This is something that is politically almost unmentionable in the West. It is politically no more possible to pursue leads that might implicate Israeli extremists than it would have been to pursue leads implicating the CIA in the Kennedy assassination. If accusations are made without convincing proof, many people in Arab countries will suspect a frame-up. Worse still, if the U.S. goes ahead without solid proof and carries out some sort of reprisal, hand in hand with Israel, then Arafat is going to be in deep trouble. His enemies who accuse him of selling out the Arab cause to the Americans will gain credibility.

If the bombing was a terrorist attack, it was a provocation. If the U.S. lets itself be provoked, the provocation will have succeeded.

A dove's last flight

One of the passengers killed in the Pan Am crash over Lockerbie was Swedish diplomat Bernt Carlsson, 50, the United Nations commissioner for Namibia. Carlsson was better known for his work as general secretary of the Socialist International between 1976 and 1983, when the organization was taking on a new role on behalf of disarmament and Third World development, two causes to which he was devoted. The dead never have anything to say in such matters, but it is not hard to imagine what Carlsson would think of his death being used to provoke military reprisals. However, he is now speechless, like so many others before him who have worked for peaceful reconciliation.

By Diana Johnstone

IN HIS JANUARY 2 COLUMN INCITING THE U.S. TO riot with cruise missiles, William Safire included Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in his accusations that "the Germans" are helping Libya build "Auschwitz-in-the-sands." The *New York Times* columnist posed this question: "Does the export-loving foreign minister, Mr. Genscher, approve of the way West German missile experts are providing Third World nations with the technical means to build delivery systems for gas bombs?"

In its structure, this is a perfect "when did you stop beating your wife?" question. And does Genscher deserve the epithet "export-loving" more than, say, James Baker?

Genscher-bashing is getting to be an ominous habit in the media under Pentagon influence.

Indeed, the NATO mafia is clearly gunning for Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The West German foreign minister has recently been the target of an escalating barrage of hostile insinuations inspired by U.S. diplomatic sources and carried in mainstream publications like the influential French daily *Le Monde* and *Newsweek*.

In a cover story hatchet job last December 5, the international issue of *Newsweek* combined disapproval of Genscher's "controversial vision of East-West cooperation" with petty personal sniping. To the displeasure of Washington and London, Genscher wants to delay modernization of the NATO short-range nuclear Lance missile and instead develop peaceful trade with the Soviet Union. As if that were not bad enough, *Newsweek* informed its readers, Genscher "possesses huge elephant-like ears, speaks in a squeaky, unemphatic voice that can be deeply soporific" and is unloved by Margaret Thatcher and George Shultz. Obviously not a regular guy.

The weekly offered an explanation of why Genscher is so weird: "His childhood was a nightmare." And later he was hospitalized for tuberculosis. Obviously not a man to trust.

Genscher indeed favors seizing the opportunity for East-West peace and disarmament offered by Mikhail Gorbachov. This policy is overwhelmingly approved by West Germans. The attacks on Genscher are meant to reduce this broad popular consensus to the suspect quirks of one odd man out. A constructive Western response to Gorbachov is to be stigmatized as "Genscherization" of Western policy—the threat denounced by *Newsweek*. The message to the German political class is that if they want the confidence of their Western allies, they must de-Genscherize.

And what a year it will be: The campaign against Genscher is an important sign that 1989 is going to be a year of major U.S. pressure on the Bonn government. The immediate objective is to keep "Gorbamania" from blocking the Pentagon's plans for nuclear weapons "modernization" in Europe. The more long-term objective is to prevent West Germany from developing a policy of its own promoting peaceful international problem-solving. This would be a nuisance to the U.S. approach, which is based on superior military force.

The NATO establishment would certainly like to get Genscher out of the way as soon as possible. Gorbachov plans to visit Bonn next May. Also coming up is the NATO decision on its next nuclear arms "modernization," the so-called "Follow on to Lance"



West Germany's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher: not a friend of the NATO mafia.

Washington's latest target: Bonn's Hans-Dietrich Genscher

("FOTL"), a new short-range nuclear missile system to be stationed on German soil.

Genscher has appalled U.S. Ambassador Richard Burt with his repeated insistence on taking Gorbachov's offers of disarmament seriously. The foreign minister has publicly warned against undermining the first nuclear disarmament treaty in history—the Reagan-Gorbachov agreement to scrap their intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)—by "compensating" for the scrapped missiles by building up another category. That means "FOTL."

Last June Genscher gave a speech to the New York-based Institute for East-West Security Studies meeting in Potsdam that horrified the NATO arms establishment. He endorsed the new security concept of "non-aggressive defense capacity" first developed by the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and taken up officially by Gorbachov. He called for a "system of cooperative security that makes it impossible to start or wage conventional war."

He recommended effective "mechanisms of global political crisis management" to prevent unforeseen conflicts from getting out of hand. He spoke of the attempt to find "an ethic for technological civilization" based on responsibility for long-term consequences of technological choices on the biosphere, on the survival of man and nature.

Inasmuch as Genscher occupies a key position both in the Federal Republic and in NATO Europe, the battle against him is being waged on two fronts: within Germany and internationally.

Genscher shares with Gorbachov the desire to restore the primacy of diplomacy over military force in international relations. This is such a universally beneficial prospect that, clearly spelled out, it would readily find support in a majority of the populations of all Western countries.

However, in practice, it runs into overwhelming opposition in those Western governments most closely bound to a powerful

military-industrial complex: that is, first of all, in the government of the U.S., and secondly in those of the nuclear allies, Britain and France. On the other hand, it stirs strong sympathy in NATO countries without nuclear weapons of their own and with less overpowering military-industrial establishments—that is, virtually all the rest. Of these, Germany is by far the most important. With-

WEST GERMANY

out German leadership, Denmark, Belgium and Italy will scarcely be able to alter Western policy significantly, even if they try.

Going after Genscher: Internationally, therefore, the NATO tactic against Genscher is to isolate him...as a German. His claims of special German responsibility for building a peaceful world are presented as just the latest avatar of German megalomania. What he is really after, it is hinted, is German reunification. This is the same line used in the past against the SPD *ostpolitik* specialist Egon Bahr, or, during the Euromissiles controversy, against the Greens, who were portrayed in Western media as "nationalist neutralists" as dangerous in their way as the Nazis.

On the level of domestic West German politics, isolating Genscher can play on rival ambitions. While Genscher's policy is solidly supported by West German public opinion, his base is more fragile within the governing conservative coalition and in his own Free Democratic Party (FDP), junior governing partner to Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats.

Last October the FDP took an ominous turn to the right when it elected Count Otto Lambsdorff as its new chairman over the more liberal Irmgard Adam-Schaetzer. Lambsdorff bounced back into prominence apparently unscathed by his deep implication in the scandal of Flick holding company bribes to political parties, which forced him to resign as economics minister in 1984.

Count Lambsdorff has been described by Social Democrat Anke Fuchs as "a militant of the free market and social indifference." With Lambsdorff as its chairman, the FDP could be ready to participate in a shakeup of the Bonn government that would eliminate Genscher.

FDP consent could enable the Christian Democrats to take over the foreign ministry, as a number of them would like to do. The post might be given to a reliable champion of NATO nuclear arms modernization such as Volker Rühe, who could be counted on to keep foreign policy subservient to military dictates.

Such a shift would probably entail a shakeup of the entire Bonn government, including even the resignation of Chancellor Kohl, who despite his fidelity to Washington has not dared openly advocate modernization of NATO nuclear weapons in Germany. He might be replaced by the more modern figure of Lothar Späth, governor of Baden-Württemberg, the southwestern state whose prosperity owes a great deal to high-tech industries well-placed to profit from arms contracts.

Whether or not such changes occur will depend heavily on the effect the conservative coalition parties figure a new government could have on their chances in the elections due in two years. In the January 1987 elections, the popularity of Genscher and his foreign policy were credited with the FDP's good showing.

An FDP that jettisoned Genscher might be punished by the voters. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) might pick up former FDP votes. However, it would be hard put to win an absolute majority by itself. If Genscher is eliminated first, that would also eliminate the possibility of an SPD-FDP coalition that could carry on the sort of detente policy favored by both Genscher and the Social Democrats. That is why targeting Genscher is the most astute way for the right to combat the SPD detente policy well in advance of the elections.

Enter East Germany: In its efforts to gun down Genscher politically in order to sabotage rapprochement with Gorbachov, NATO is getting unexpected help—from the East German security establishment. Last month a subtle cross fire was opened against the West German foreign minister in the form of the "memoires" of East German spy Günter Guillaume.

Guillaume is the East German agent who succeeded in infiltrating the SPD all the way to the office of Willy Brandt when Brandt was chancellor. When he was arrested in April 1974 he promptly admitted that he was working for East Germany. Brandt's resignation as chancellor followed rapidly.

In his memoirs, Guillaume blames Brandt's fall on Hans-Dietrich Genscher. As interior minister in 1974, Genscher was informed that Guillaume was under investigation. Guillaume suggests that in order to destroy Brandt and have him replaced by Helmut Schmidt, Genscher failed to warn Brandt that he had a spy in his office.

True or false, such revelations are designed to cause trouble for Genscher and for the SPD. Nobody can imagine that the retired spy's memoirs are being published just now out of innocent frankness. The East German Ministry of State Security is currently in upheaval, shaken by the new thinking in Moscow. East German security officers and NATO addicts have a common cause: combatting the threat of rapprochement between Bonn and Moscow. □

IN THESE TIMES JAN. 11-17, 1989 9

The Endless Simmer

PART ONE...

This is the first of a three-part In These Times series about the "greenhouse effect." Some have said this is too benign a phrase for what may lie in store for all of us. "Heat trap" was suggested by the prime minister of Norway. "Toxic furnace" seemed more appropriate to participants at the founding conference of a Global Greenhouse Network.

Were the events of the summer of 1988—record-setting heat waves across the U.S. and elsewhere, along with the worst drought conditions in half a century in the U.S. and in parts of China—an aberration of nature or the Earth's way of saying that our climate system is being stretched to the limit? Last week scientists released new evidence indicating that natural forces—a complex interaction between unusual atmospheric and oceanic conditions in the equatorial Pacific—were in fact responsible for 1988's climatic events. But most of these experts agree that this does not mean the increasingly apparent global warming trend can be relegated to a distant future. Nor is there much debate that it will drastically alter life on this planet, or about its primary causes—billions of tons of greenhouse gases released by our industrial and agricultural processes, particularly over the last 40 years.

Part one of this series, based on a three-month In These Times investigation, examines both the causes and the predicted effects foreseen by numerous experts. It is a grim, often terrifying picture. There is no escaping the fact that our rampant combustion and consumption are on the verge of enclosing us within a hellish climate of our own making. No other crisis in recorded history demands as much re-examination of our industry, science and government, and as much mobilization by the people, as this one.

In two weeks part two will probe the federal government's unconscionable failure to address the mounting evidence of the greenhouse effect. And part three will outline what Americans, along with everybody else on Earth, must do to stop a situation that threatens soon to spin out of control. The question ultimately comes down to this: By the time our children reach middle age will they be living in a totally unrecognizable world, shocked at the simple sacrifices we were unwilling to make that could have changed the course of the greenhouse effect?

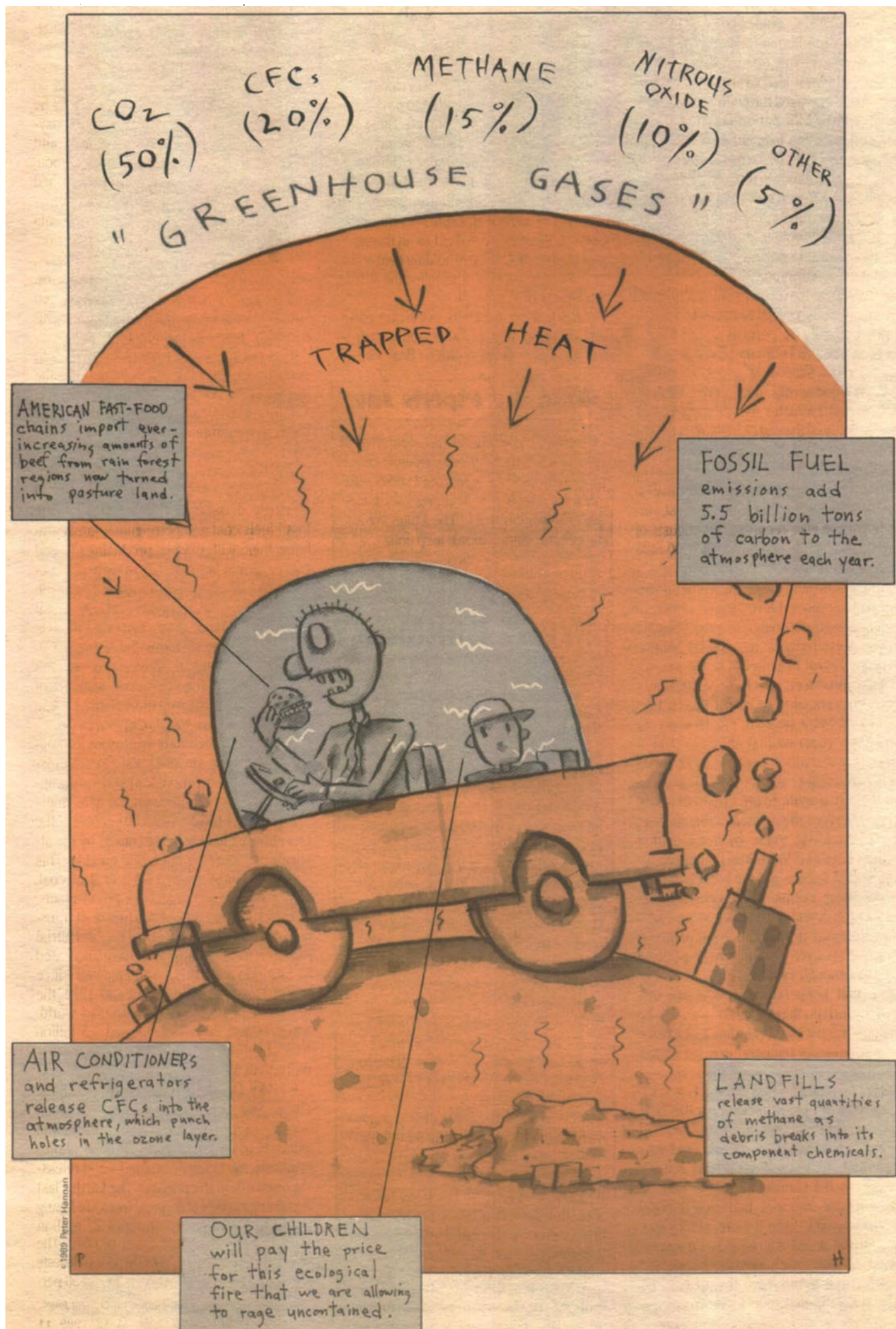
By Dick Russell

THERE IS NOTHING "GREEN" ABOUT THE impending greenhouse effect. Not when crops can no longer survive in areas where they've always been grown. Not when trees and wildlife cannot migrate fast enough to escape the rapid changes in climate. Not when rivers dry up and coastal wetlands are inundated by rising sea levels. Not when millions of people are uprooted from their homes and way of life.

This picture of devastation is arising from the activities of the human species—us. It is a scenario being forecast by numerous scientists around the world, unless immediate steps are taken to stop a continuing buildup of chemical compounds generated by our industrial and agricultural practices, which are causing unprecedented changes in the atmosphere.

Consider the following:

- The '80s have seen the five hottest years since recordkeeping began more than a century ago, and 1988 will probably be recorded



having both heat waves and a drought situation." And one has only to look back over the events of 1988 to detect the ominous pattern that Hansen and others are talking about.

In New York City demand for electricity soared to record levels last year and mosquito populations surged to four times normal, as summer weather conditions resembled those in a tropical rain forest. In New England offshore water temperatures reached 85 degrees, robbing some fish and lobsters of oxygen and suffocating them.

The Mississippi River fell to its lowest level ever recorded. Transport slowed to a crawl, and the drinking water supply for New Orleans was threatened by advancing salt water from the Gulf of Mexico.

A pall of air pollution held in by the heat settled not only over major urban centers like New York, but also over the rural Midwest. Drought ravaged the countryside. More than one-third of the nation's corn crop was destroyed, with the loss put at \$7.4 billion. Damage to soybeans was expected to exceed \$4 billion. The nation's total grain harvest plummeted by 35 percent, and about 40 percent of the counties in the U.S. qualified as disaster areas. Another drought this year, the Agriculture Department has warned, would be "catastrophic."

In California the snowpack in the mid-Sierra mountains, crucial to the state's water supply, was only 20 percent of normal by May 1. As early as February of last year San Francisco was imposing water rationing. Wildfires raged across much of the Western U.S. The best estimates to date suggest that between July and the end of September roughly 988,925 acres of Yellowstone National Park's 2.2 million acres burned to varying degrees.

Powered by warmer water temperatures, in September Gilbert became the most violent hurricane ever recorded. Wind gusts of more than 200 miles an hour cut a 2,500-mile swath of devastation.

Elsewhere around the globe, temperatures reached their highest levels in the 130 years of official recordkeeping. Worldwide grain reserves were reduced to a 54-day supply, one of the lowest ever. In China, the world's top grain producer, severe drought conditions were estimated to have reduced harvests by about 5 percent. On October 27 *China Daily* reported that about 20 million people face starvation because of droughts and floods; another 80 million in rural areas of at least 10 provinces are threatened with a grain shortage this winter. In Bangladesh flooding made far worse by deforestation practices left three-fourths of the land under water and 25 million people homeless.

All of these events can't necessarily be linked to the greenhouse effect. Some might simply be "normal" fluctuations in nature. A few scientists even continue to argue that there isn't enough evidence for alarm. They believe that temperature models are distorted by urban "heat islands" caused by buildings and pavement, or that an increase in cloud cover as temperatures get higher may serve to offset the warming.

But these scientific hypotheses have been dismissed by most experts. They say the "heat island" scenario has already been factored into global weather trend models, and they believe that the cloud cover would actually decrease as the climate warms. In fact, no good evidence indicates that clouds could slow the warming. Even if more water vapor going into the air forms an abundance of puffy, isolated cumulus clouds, even more solar heat would be expected to reach the Earth.

The reality is that recent events portend

the drastic climate changes experts forecast for the near future. NASA's Hansen stressed at a December conference on climate change that although weather patterns like last year's drought can vary from year to year, we can't allow ourselves to be lulled into complacency. He pointed out that other weather patterns of the '80s—greater warming over land than over the oceans and a cooling in the stratosphere while the lower atmosphere gets hotter—are in accord with computer modeling of the greenhouse effect. One would also expect, he added, that dust from recent volcanic eruptions would keep some sunlight from reaching the planet's surface and make the Earth cooler than normal for several years, but that isn't happening.

Disrupting the natural cycle: The Earth's atmosphere functions very similarly to greenhouse glass. Short wavelengths of the sun's energy are permitted to pass easily through it to warm the planet. The Earth reradiates longer wavelengths, mainly of infrared energy, back toward space. Here some of the returning heat is absorbed by carbon dioxide and other "greenhouse gases" that exist in minute quantities in the atmosphere. Collectively these act as an insulating blanket around the Earth, holding heat within the lower atmosphere and reflecting it back to the ground.

Without these naturally occurring gases, the Earth's surface would be more than 30 degrees Centigrade colder. Basically, it

would be a frozen planet more akin to Mars, which has too little carbon dioxide to support above-freezing temperatures. Venus' atmosphere, by contrast, has a much denser carbon dioxide cover, leading to a "runaway" greenhouse effect.

The Earth's climate is a delicate balance of chemical processes, energy inputs and physical phenomena, under the umbrella of a nitrogen-based atmosphere that is 21 percent oxygen. Only .03 percent of our atmosphere is comprised of carbon dioxide. But since the "Industrial Revolution" in the mid-19th century, the CO₂ level has been rising steadily.

This equilibrium is directly related to the functioning of the plant and animal kingdoms, whose unity defies scientific explanation. Two billion years ago, before there were green plants, there was no oxygen—and no life. CO₂ is produced in nature primarily by plant and animal respiration, in which oxygen is used to burn food substances and obtain energy. This food contains carbon, which combines with oxygen and is released into the surrounding air or water as CO₂.

The CO₂ is then absorbed by green plants in photosynthesis, the reverse of respiration. Here plants take in carbon dioxide and water, produce simple sugars or carbohydrates, and ultimately release oxygen. The oxygen and food may be used by the plant or consumed by animals, including humans.

This conversion of food and oxygen into energy completes the cycle, maintaining the balance of oxygen and CO₂ in the atmosphere. For centuries it has kept the Earth's surface mean temperature around its current 59 degrees Fahrenheit.

The combustion process resembles respiration in that it takes raw materials—wood or partly decomposed plant remains (the fossil fuels coal and petroleum)—and combines them with oxygen, producing CO₂ and energy. But in the past 125 years human activity has sent the CO₂ concentration in the atmosphere soaring by 25 percent, and if current rates hold steady, computer models indicate that the preindustrial levels of CO₂ will have doubled by somewhere between 2025 and 2050. The result is a trapping of additional heat that would otherwise escape into space. Hence, the "greenhouse effect."

In order to ameliorate worldwide ecological catastrophe, societies will have to drastically alter their production and consumption patterns. The culprits are the following:

● **FOSSIL FUELS.** About 50 percent of the greenhouse effect is being caused by the atmospheric increase in carbon dioxide. This comes primarily from the burning of coal, oil and natural gas to fuel our power plants, factories, homes, offices and means of transportation. Since the advent of the "Industrial Revolution" CO₂ emissions have increased 53-fold. Most of this has happened since World War II. Between 1950 and 1979, the use of these fossil fuels quadrupled worldwide. Today, they annually add 5.5 billion tons of carbon to the Earth's atmosphere—more than a ton a year per person.

● **LOSS OF TROPICAL RAIN FORESTS.** These and other timber regions, which would otherwise reabsorb substantial amounts of carbon dioxide through photosynthesis, are being decimated—and releasing more CO₂ in the process. The Earth's last remaining masses of tropical trees are falling victim to development at about 27 million acres a year, an area the size of Ohio. The yearly carbon releases from the loss of forests are estimated to total between 20 and 50 per-

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as the hottest of all of these.

● Average global temperatures have already risen by one degree Fahrenheit over the past century, and 70 percent of that increase has taken place since 1950. Computer models indicate that the world is now warming at twice the rate projected only five years ago.

● Many scientists believe that by about the year 2050 global average temperatures will be between three and eight degrees Fahrenheit higher than they averaged between 1950 and 1980. At the lowest projection, the Earth's climate would alter more during our children's lives than it has since the last Ice Age. At the highest projection, our grandchildren would face weather conditions that have not occurred since the dinosaur era millions of years ago.

● Midlatitude regions, including much of the U.S., China and Australia, may experience higher temperature rises than are predicted for the world as a whole—ranging as high as eight to 10 degrees. Increases in northern Africa and the Antarctic could exceed 10 degrees. If that doesn't seem like such a momentous change, consider that the coldest average temperature during the last Ice Age has been calculated at only 10 degrees lower than today's.

● Due to warmer water temperatures and some melting of icecaps and glaciers, sea levels are destined to rise. This will force many coastal areas either to build sea walls or take to the high ground, will flood delta regions like the Nile Valley and Bangladesh and will wipe out small islands in the Caribbean and elsewhere. Hurricanes, fueled by warmer oceans, may be as much as 50 percent more powerful than the strongest one recorded so far.

● The drought-parched American farm belt may become a virtual rural wasteland, along with the principal agricultural regions of China and the Soviet Union. Many species of trees, unable to withstand a rapid alteration in climate, may perish. The same fate will befall much of our wildlife and, doubtlessly, many humans as well.

Portents of 1988: Might the world as we know it really end, as in T.S. Eliot's poem "The Hollow Men," "not with a bang but a whimper"?

Last June 23 James Hansen, director of NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies, went before a Senate committee and said that he had "99 percent confidence [that] the greenhouse effect has been detected and is changing our climate now." Despite the scientific community's recent conclusion that 1988's climate patterns were caused by natural forces, Hansen adds, "The greenhouse effect is already affecting the probability of

What the experts say

● "Humanity is conducting an uncontrolled and globally pervasive experiment whose ultimate consequences could be second only to a global nuclear war." —Conference Statement from "The Changing Atmosphere: Implications for Global Security," held in June 1988.

● "We may be moving through an entire geological epoch in a single century...changing the entire fabric of nature." —John Hoffman, director of global atmosphere program, Environmental Protection Agency.

● "For 200 years we've been conquering nature. Now we are beating it to death." —Canadian Environment Minister Tom McMillan.

● "We're out beyond the edge of science here—moving into a realm where there is nothing but surprise." —George Woodwell, director Woods Hole Research Center.

● "All the greenhouse scenarios are consistent. These numbers are real. We have to start behaving as if this is going to happen. Those who advocate a program consisting only of additional research are missing the boat." —meteorologist Howard Ferguson, assistant deputy minister of the Canadian Atmospheric Environment Service.

● "We have only one planet. If we screw it up, we have no place else to go." —Louisiana Senator J. Bennett Johnston, chairman of Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

● "We can stop using fossil fuels and we can stop deforestation. But the political impediments are horrendous and the policy process so long. The more I look at it, the more it looks to be utterly intractable. But there is just enough hope, and the stakes are so high that we simply have to give it our best try." —Dean Abrahamson, energy policy specialist at the University of Minnesota.

cent of annual CO₂ releases. Last summer NASA scientists announced that the approximately 170,000 man-made fires then burning in the Brazilian rain forest area of Rondonia may have accounted for more than 10 percent of the year's global CO₂ output.

● **CHLOROFLUOROCARBONS.** CFCs are industrial chemicals widely used in air conditioners, refrigerators, solvents, plastic packaging and computer chips. They are known to rise into the stratosphere and punch "holes" in the Earth's ozone layer, which protects the planet from an overdose of the sun's ultraviolet radiation. CFCs, like carbon dioxide, are also a "greenhouse gas." Some types hold heat in the atmosphere at a rate 10,000 times higher than CO₂, and stay there longer. CFCs contribute an additional 20 percent to the global warming (see *In These Times*, Aug. 17, 1988).

● **METHANE.** The output of methane gas, which naturally occurs on Earth to some extent, is also escalating rapidly. The reasons for this are not well understood, but scientists do know that vast quantities of methane are being released from trash landfills as debris breaks down into its component chemicals; from cultivation of rice, which emits the gas as it grows; and from the raising of ever-increasing herds of cattle (about 1.2 billion worldwide), which create methane in their digestive process. These include livestock now being raised in what used to be rain forest regions. This land has been cleared in the Brazilian Amazon and elsewhere in Latin and Central America primarily to supply meat to American fast-food chains. Methane adds another 15 percent to the greenhouse effect.

● **NITROUS OXIDES.** These are formed when petrochemical fertilizers break down in the ground. Although they occur naturally to some extent, they are also created in coal-burning and auto exhaust. Nitrous oxides comprise yet another 10 percent of the greenhouse problem.

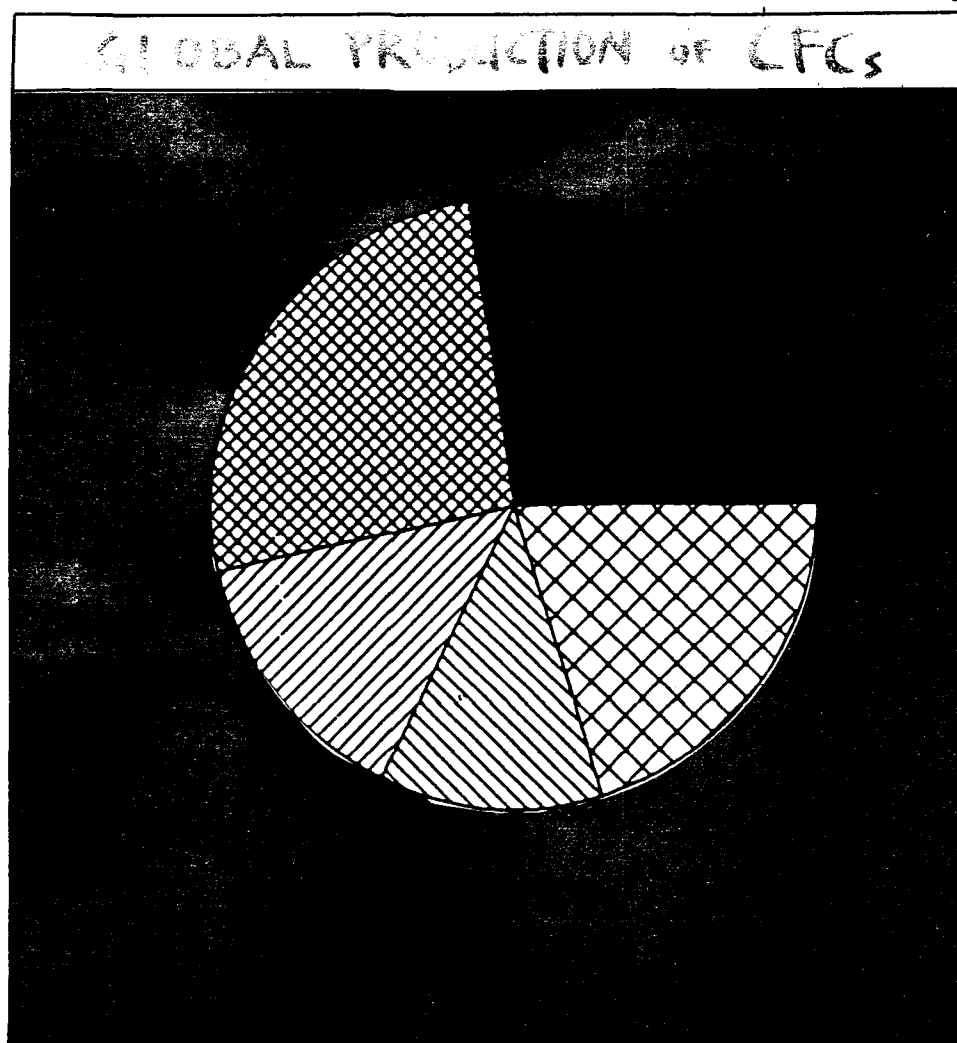
The remaining 5 percent increase in "greenhouse gases" comes from ground-based ozone pollution created by motor vehicles, power plants and oil refineries.

Once these greenhouse gases enter the atmosphere, they remain there for hundreds of years. So even if we stopped all emissions today, our planet is already committed to some warming (between 1.8 and 3.6 degrees Fahrenheit, according to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)).

Thus the burning question, literally, is how long are we willing to let this ecological fire rage? In order to begin stabilizing the climate, many scientists believe that worldwide combustion of coal, oil and natural gas will have to be cut at least in half. CFCs will also have to be banned completely and forest razing halted as well.

Fighting fire with fire: The U.S. bears the overwhelming responsibility for allowing the ecological fire to burn uncontained. Americans total only 5 percent of the world's population, but we contribute 26 percent of all the CO₂ being added to the atmosphere. Nearly a third of it is discharged by transportation vehicles.

As for CFCs, the Du Pont Chemical Corporation produces one-fourth of the world's 2.4 billion annual tons. While the company has announced plans to come up with coolant substitutes and phase out CFCs by the year 2000, production of these ozone layer-depleting greenhouse gases continues unabated. American fast-food chains continue not only to use CFC-containing styrofoam containers, but also to import vast quantities



of beef from rain forest regions now turned into pasture land. The Washington-based World Bank has funded numerous projects that have destroyed vast tracts of rain forest.

At the same time, however, the fight to rectify this situation is being led by U.S. scientists like Hansen, congressional leaders like Sen. Timothy Wirth (D-CO) and Rep. Claudine Schneider (R-RI), and several national environmental organizations including the Worldwatch and World Resources Institutes and the Environmental Defense Fund. Three bills to combat the greenhouse effect were introduced in the last session of Congress. None passed, but observers expect action in the next session. President-elect George Bush has promised to convene

ecosystems are not currently available."

What's in store for future generations unless these strategies are not only developed but also implemented soon? Experts predict that the effects on the basics of life—food, water and shelter—will be devastating.

Agricultural effects: Scientists now agree that the increase in temperature will not be spread evenly. Temperatures near the equator are projected to change proportionately less as the Earth warms. But most of the world's food is produced in the Northern Hemisphere, within the middle and higher latitudes. And this is precisely where temperature rises are expected to be the greatest. It is also where climatologists envision an accompanying marked shift in rainfall pat-

The U.S. bears the overwhelming responsibility for allowing the ecological fire to burn uncontained. Americans contribute 26 percent of all CO₂ being added to the atmosphere.

a global summit conference to address the greenhouse effect and other environmental problems during his first year in office.

Even the EPA, in a draft report on the potential effects of climate changes presented to Congress last October, went beyond its business-as-usual attitude to stress the urgency of immediate action. "We fail to recognize the close links [among] our society, the environment and climate," wrote the agency. "Global climate change will have significant implications for natural ecosystems; for when, where and how we farm; for the availability of water to drink and water to run our factories; for how we live in our cities; for the wetlands that spawn our fish; for the beaches we use for recreation; and for all levels of government and industry."

"For natural ecosystems (forest, wetlands, barrier islands, national parks) these changes may continue for decades once the process of change is set into motion," it continued. "As a result, the landscape of North America will change in ways that cannot be fully predicted. The ultimate effects will last for centuries and will be irreversible. Strategies to reverse such impacts on natural

terms, which may move northward.

In the hemisphere's middle and low latitudes, drought conditions arising from lower soil moisture will not be the exception but the norm. According to Hansen, recent data indicates that the chances of summer drought there will be 1-in-3 by the year 2030, compared with 1-in-20 in the '50s.

What does this portend for the U.S.? Lester Brown, president of the Worldwatch Institute, recently wrote in *Worldwatch*, "Some of the land in the western Great Plains that now produces wheat would revert to grassland. The western Corn Belt would become semiarid, with wheat or other drought-tolerant grains that yield 40 bushels per acre replacing corn that yields over 100 bushels."

The EPA recently estimated that crop acreage could decrease by as much as 25 percent in Appalachia, the Southeast and the southern Great Plains. Farming in these regions would require massive additional irrigation. But where will the water come from? One potential problem that the EPA does not address is whether the Plains' Ogallala aquifer would still be able to provide it. The aquifer, a vast underground reservoir that

runs below six states from Nebraska to Texas, has already been depleted by 40 percent over the past 40 years by irrigation practices. The wanton use of this unreplaceable resource could find wells running dry that were able to pump even during the '30s Dust Bowl.

The chemical industry and the scientific community disagree about the effect higher CO₂ levels would have on crop yields. Since plants use CO₂ in photosynthesis, *Chemical Week Magazine* recently touted the possible benefits of "greater crop productivity in a carbon dioxide-rich environment...[which], in turn, could benefit producers of fertilizers, herbicides and insecticides." But corn, agricultural experts point out, differs from other major food crops in its photosynthesis and wouldn't "benefit" that much. And the EPA's models indicate that particularly in southern areas, "where heat stress is already a problem," crop yields would definitely decline.

Besides this, "one of the direct effects of increased carbon dioxide on crop growth is a reduced concentration of nitrogen, and hence protein, in the leaf," Cornell University plant ecologist Walter Westman testified at an October congressional hearing. This implies that insects would need to eat more of a leaf "to satisfy their dietary requirements." So would humans. Less nutrition in leaf crops would surely have an adverse effect on the livestock and people that consume them.

If last year's drought is any indication, crops also could be drastically affected by a fungus called aflatoxin, which is a powerful, cancer-causing poison that thrives in hot, dry weather. Last October it was revealed that aflatoxin had been detected in newly harvested corn samples from at least seven states. Up to 70 percent of the corn tested from northeast Texas and 35.8 percent in Illinois showed levels above the Food and Drug Administration's maximum level acceptable for human consumption.

Is there a "plus" side to any of this? Scientists unanimously agree that warmer temperatures will move the best weather for growing food northward as the rain belt of North America shifts. In Minnesota, a longer frost-free growing season could see dryland yields of corn and soybeans increase substantially. The same could hold true for spring wheat cultivation in Canada's Alberta province.

But the soils of these more northerly areas are thinner and far poorer in nutrients than the rich soils of the current breadbasket, and it takes centuries for more productive soils to form. In the interim, far more fertilizer would probably be used. And chemical fertilizers add not only to nitrate pollution of drinking water supplies, but also, as noted earlier, bear some responsibility for the greenhouse effect.

Other side effects of an alteration in major food-growing regions are also discussed in the EPA's report. These include increased pest populations traveling north, potentially reducing yields, affecting livestock and requiring more pesticides to combat them. Also imminent, adds the EPA, would be "more competition for water resources, great potential for ground and surface water pollution, loss of some wildlife habitat and increased soil erosion.... Thus, climate change could exacerbate many of the current trends in environmental pollution and resource use from agriculture and could initiate new ones."

Elsewhere around the globe, the Worldwatch Institute estimates that the greenhouse

effect may carry a price tag of \$200 billion for irrigation adjustments alone. Poorer countries will clearly face the most serious obstacles. "Even under normal conditions, the food problem is pretty serious because of population growth," says Suresh Singha of New Delhi's Water Technology Center.

According to a spokesperson for the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organization, if rainfall drops by 25 percent, as it might in temperate regions, reservoirs will have to be 400 percent larger to maintain the water yield. And this will simply be impossible in most of the world.

China, which includes more than one-fifth of the world's irrigated land, is already plagued with a growing scarcity of fresh water—and drought conditions are expected to become far worse. Semiarid regions of Africa, already beset by drought and famine, may be visited with even hotter temperatures and less rainfall. Drought is also being predicted for semiarid parts of Brazil, Australia and India.

As for the Soviet Union, a forecast released in November by Vienna's International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis envisions some areas getting a more favorable agricultural climate. By switching to winter-sown wheat in places that currently grow spring wheat, and by increasing fertilizer use, the study says that the Russians could actually boost their wheat and rye production by almost 50 percent. Leningrad would replace the Ukraine as the nation's granary.

But even if that holds true, excessive water use has already diminished river flows substantially in the USSR—particularly in the Aral Sea, which in recent years has shrunk by half. "By absorbing solar energy, the Aral moderates winters and makes possible a longer growing season," says James Critchlow of Harvard University's Russian Research Center. "It has been said that the climatic impact will extend also to Afghanistan and Iran."

Sea level effects: Sea levels have been going up since the last Ice Age, in recent times at the rate of about half a foot per century. As ocean water warms up it expands, so warmer waters at the poles will cause some melting of glaciers and icecaps. The EPA now estimates that by the year 2100, the seas could rise between 4.7 and 7.1 feet.

What does this mean for the U.S., where more than 70 percent of the population today lives near the coasts? It's been calculated that only a three-foot sea level rise would inundate parts of the Florida coast as far as half-a-mile inland and would threaten the habitability of cities like New Orleans. A similar rise would push salt water 21 miles up the Delaware River, potentially contaminating Philadelphia's drinking water supply. Coastal sewer systems around the nation could flood, increasing the incidence of waterborne diseases.

James Titus, director of the EPA's Sea Level Rise Project, believes that many communities will have only two choices—build sea walls or move. "The elaborate protective network of dikes, storm gates, diversion channels and pumps designed and constructed by Dutch engineers over the centuries," adds a recent report from the government's National Research Council, "may well become a model for the rest of the world." But the cost of adapting to the sea level rise projected by midcentury in Charleston, S.C., alone could reach an estimated \$1.5 billion. Protecting the whole East Coast could cost as much as \$100 billion.

Coastal wetlands are particularly vulnerable, and half of all the seafood species caught in the U.S. depend on wetlands for their life

cycle. An EPA study released last August warns that this country could lose between 30 and 80 percent of its wetlands. These are also vital ecosystems that provide flood protection, filter pollutants and help recharge groundwater supplies. Additionally, wetlands provide a buffer against hurricanes, which meteorologist Kerry Emanuel of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology already envisions as being 40 to 50 percent more severe than those recorded over the last 50 years. Although new wetlands could form when flooding occurs, as the EPA notes, "along developed coasts there may not be any land available for wetland creation." Louisiana, with 40 percent of the nation's

wetlands, would suffer the most damage, followed closely by South Carolina and New Jersey.

In other sectors of the globe the prospects may be even grimmer. "If we went all out to slow the warming trend, we might stall sea level rise at three to six feet," Robert Buddemeier of California's Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory recently told *Discover* magazine. A six-foot rise, Buddemeier calculated, would render almost all low coral islands uninhabitable. This means that the Marshall Islands in the Pacific, the Maldives off India's west coast and some Caribbean nations would literally face extinction. "You're looking at a potential refugee prob-

lem of unprecedented dimensions," added Buddemeier.

Rising waters may also send salt water pouring into large portions of Asia's rice fields, where rice is produced on low-lying river deltas and flood plains. In Bangladesh, Buddemeier has noted, "it's massively populated, achingly poor and something like a sixth of the country is going to go away." Millions of farmers may also be driven from the Nile delta in Egypt, where one study forecasts that land housing 14 percent of the country's population could be lost.

There is yet another, even more terrifying unknown concerning global warming and the oceans. A 1987 experiment by the U.S. Geological Survey discovered that the Arctic's perpetually frozen soil has warmed over the past century between four and seven degrees. Meanwhile, in the Antarctic, over the past year and a half several extremely large icebergs have broken free. If warmer ocean water heated by the air above the South Pole eventually begins to melt the Antarctic ice shelves, the land-based ice sheet could also start melting. As it thinned and began to float, ice from behind it might push it into the open sea. The result: sea levels would immediately jump between 16 and 19 feet.

The impact of such an event has been computed by two geographers at England's University of Liverpool. Worldwide, an area greater than the U.S. or China would be submerged, 70 percent of it in the Northern Hemisphere, say Ann Henderson-Sellers and Kendall McGuffie. New York, London, Seoul and Beijing would flood. The Ganges, Amazon and Mekong deltas would sink. So would substantial parts of the American East Coast and parts of the USSR.

If polar and mountain glaciers begin to melt, the once-white ice surface would take on the dark brown color of Earth or the blue of the oceans. "Thus the initial warming would create a darker planet," notes Stephen Schneider of Colorado's National Center for Atmospheric Research, "which would absorb more energy, thereby creating an even larger warming." Or, as Columbia University scientist Wallace Broecker puts it, "Change the oceans and you change everything."

The tree of life: The chain of events that could be set off by humankind's chemical "tampering" with the atmosphere is almost beyond imagination. Increased ultraviolet (UV) radiation, for example, is occurring because CFCs are thinning the stratospheric ozone layer. This may eventually have a devastating effect on the tiny one-celled phytoplankton plants at the base of the oceanic food chain. These photosynthetic plants play a vital role in maintaining the Earth's oxygen supply, as well as reabsorbing carbon dioxide.

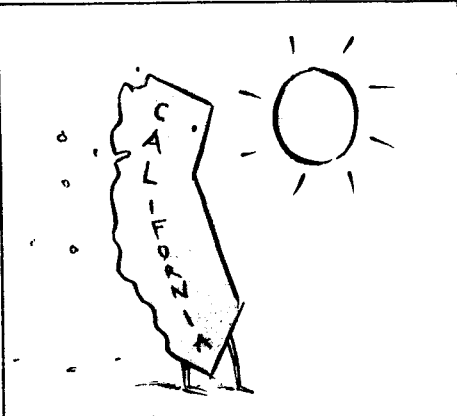
Last winter Sayed El Sayed, a professor of oceanography from Texas A&M University, conducted experiments on phytoplankton collected from the surface layer of the Antarctic Ocean. They died off completely when UV radiation was raised 10 percent. Should the ozone layer continue to decline at its present rate—about 6 percent more UV rays are estimated to be reaching the Earth now than in 1969—the amount of UV hitting the Earth could be 15 percent or more by the middle of the next century. If that happens, Harvard University scientist Michael McElroy told a Senate hearing last year, the southern oceans would release vast amounts of CO₂ previously held in by the phytoplankton.

Some species of plankton also produce a chemical called dimethyl sulfide, or DMS,

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Sunny California: the worst of all possible worlds?



It's called the "Golden State," the promised land at the end of the Western rainbow where everyone from the '49ers to Steinbeck's migrants longed to settled. But California, in the years ahead, may become "the worst of all possible worlds."

That is the assessment of Peter Gleick of the Pacific Institute for Studies in Development, Environment and Security in Berkeley, Calif. Because of the greenhouse effect, California may be faced with both severe water shortages and flooding, grave difficulties in supporting agriculture and even worse urban air pollution.

The country's most populous state currently contains a highly managed water resource system and one of the most productive farming regions in the world. The state produces 10 percent of the nation's cash receipts for agriculture, but the water resources are poorly distributed in relationship to needs. Rainfall is abundant in the north, and water is required in the south for agriculture and domestic consumption. The Central Valley Project and State Water Project were built basically to capture runoff from the north and deliver it south.

"In California we have a fundamental dilemma over how to operate our water supply system," Gleick testified at a congressional hearing last October. "We must keep our reservoirs relatively empty in the winter for flood control; yet we must fill them as quickly and as much as possible in the spring so that we will have sufficient irrigation water for the dry summer months."

But warmer temperatures are expected to bring more precipitation in the form of rain and less in snow. This means that the snowpack in the mountains of northern California will begin melting much sooner, with rapid runoff leading to more severe winter floods. At the same time, a faster and earlier snowmelt would lead to quicker summer drying and much higher water demands.

Directly affected by this will be the Sacramento/San Joaquin Delta. Besides its

wealth of fisheries, agriculture and recreation, the Delta is the source of much of the fresh water pumped to southern California farmers and urban centers. But the changes in freshwater runoff from the Sierra mountains will alter the natural flushing of salt water from the Delta. At the same time, rising sea levels will push salt water farther and farther into the Delta, threatening not only water quality but also the area's pumping plants and levees. An EPA study has concluded that, without incredible economic outlays, vast regions of the Delta could turn back into the inland marsh and wetland they once were.

Southern California also gets some of its water supply from the Colorado River. But climatologists Roger Revelle and Paul Waggoner, assuming only a 2 degree temperature rise and a 10 percent decrease in precipitation, have calculated that water supplies in the Colorado and the six other western U.S. river basins would be reduced by 40 to 76 percent. In those areas, replacement costs of dams, canals and irrigation systems would skyrocket. And further west, Los Angeles, among other cities, could face a severe water shortage.

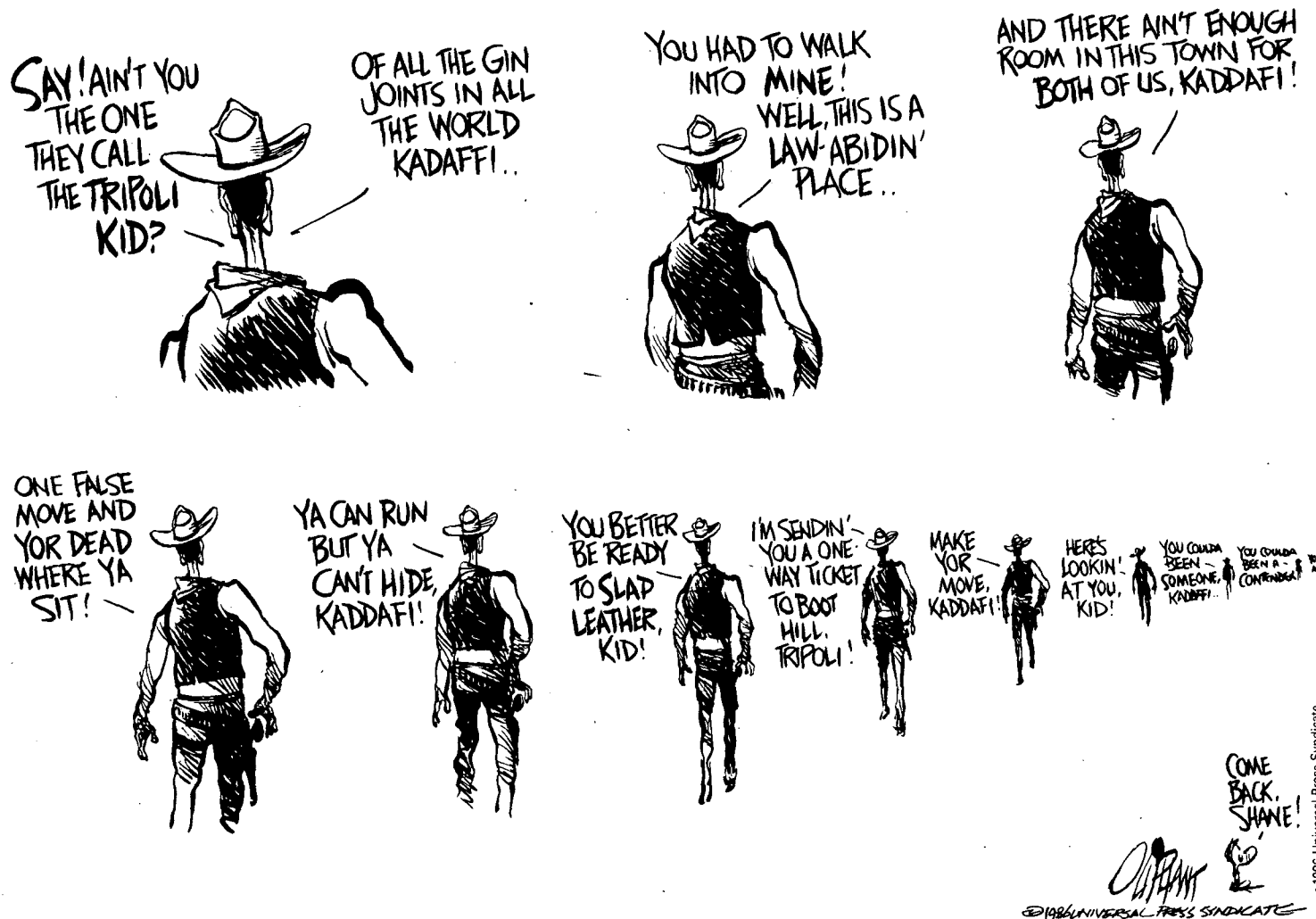
Changes in water availability will also affect California's energy situation. During a normal water year, about 20 percent of the state's electricity is generated by hydropower. During the 1976-77 drought, total hydroelectrical output dropped to just 7 percent, costing consumers \$500 million in additional fossil fuel costs—and, of course, contributing more carbon dioxide to the atmosphere in the process.

As for air quality, levels of ozone pollution in central California, according to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), "will increase in intensity and change in location due to higher temperatures. As a result, the number of people-hours of exposure to elevated ozone levels in excess of the EPA [health] standard of 0.12 ppm [parts per million] would triple under one climate scenario," assuming current emission levels.

Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA) summed up the grim picture at the October hearing in San Francisco: "California and the Bay Area will be profoundly affected unless we halt the global warming trend. Our cool temperate climate will be consigned to history.... Rising ocean levels would threaten our low-lying coastal areas, inundating the fragile wetlands and destroying commercial and residential property. The time has come for strong action."

-D.R.

EDITORIAL



Poison gas plants, Libya and poisonous policies

Vengeance is mine, sayeth the Reagan administration, even though it lacks both divine omniscience and divine omnipotence. Enough, says the rest of the world. Stop playing God.

And so, the Reagan years end as they began, with arrogance and bellicosity. In 1989, as in 1981, Navy pilots have shot down a pair of Soviet-built Libyan fighter planes in a tense confrontation with the government of Muammar Khadafy. Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci insists that the downing of the Libyan planes was a purely defensive maneuver. It had nothing whatsoever to do with President Reagan's recent implied threat of a preemptive strike on the new Libyan chemical plant, Carlucci says.

Formula for disaster: But given the memory of an April 1986 bombing attack, in which one of Khadafy's children was killed and he narrowly escaped with his life, it's no surprise that the Libyans were edgy. Nor, given the attack on the U.S. frigate Stark in the Persian Gulf and the barrage of administration propaganda about "madman" Khadafy, is it a surprise that American Navy pilots were apprehensive? That's a formula for disaster, created by administration policies. But when disaster comes, the administration ducks responsibility and blames it on others.

The context—or perhaps the pretext—for this latest administration-created disaster in the Mideast is Reagan's claim that Libya's large new chemical plant at Rabta is designed to produce poison gas, and that this is impermissible (see story page 7). We don't know whether or not the plant is for pharmaceuticals and fertilizer, as the Libyans claim, or for gas, as the administration claims. The experts seem to agree that it could be used for either—or both.

But we do know that the Soviet Union has an estimated 50,000 tons of poison gas, the U.S. has an admitted 30,000 tons and some 20 other nations have stockpiles of gas and the capacity to produce more. Libya presents no greater threat to peace in the region with its new facility—assuming that it is for gas production—than Syria,

which also has produced poison gas, or Iraq, which has not only produced it but used it against Iran and its own Kurdish minority.

Of course, the administration claims that Libya is different because it is a terrorist state. But poison gas is not a tool of terrorists, except possibly in very small quantities. You do not need a plant anywhere near the size of the one in Rabta to produce terrorist quantities of gas.

If Libya's possession of poison gas is impermissible, it is no more so than that of the other 22 nations producing it. In our view, poison gas is a barbarous weapon. It has little or no value against troops equipped with modern weapons, but is very effective against civilian populations and insurgent uprisings, especially in the Third World—which is how Iraq has used it. Its use is already outlawed by a multinational treaty, but it does not prohibit production of poison gas and not all the nations possessing it are signatories.

Both the production and use of poison gas should be stopped and all existing stocks destroyed. The United States and the Soviet Union appear to agree on this point, which made possible the current Paris conference on preventing the use of chemical weapons and the upcoming 40-nation talks in Geneva to ban their production.

Logic of the absurd: Unfortunately, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Director William F. Burns is already undermining the Geneva conference by insisting that no form of international inspection would insure that gas is not produced. But if we accept this view a treaty is impossible, because virtually any large pharmaceutical or fertilizer plant—of which there are thousands around the world—could also produce poison gas. Yet all the experts agree that routine inspection or inspection on demand, though not perfect, are the only bases for monitoring compliance with a new treaty. This is true not only for Libya, but for all nations. If Libya is required to tear down its plant, as Burns insists it should, then so should every other nation with a comparable plant—which, of course, is absurd.

President-elect Bush says he wants to make a chemical weapons ban a high priority. If this is not just pre-election talk, the new administration must support a treaty at Geneva that would ban gas production and provide for effective inspection by the United Nations or other neutral groups. Ending the threat of poison gas, like that of nuclear war, is good for everybody.

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

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This issue (Vol. 13, No. 8) published Jan. 11, 1989, for newsstand sales Jan. 11-17, 1989.

LETTERS

I'm rubber, you're glue

NO MATTER HOW ONE LOOKS AT IT, JENNIFER Berman's cartoon accompanying the article "Right gains in Israeli vote" by Joe Lockard (ITT, Nov. 9, 1988) is an outrageous distortion of the policies of the Likud party. The scale and depth of violence that are attributed to the Likud by the comparison to a lethal can of Liquid Plumber bears no resemblance to the reality in the Occupied Territories today.

Most egregious is the question, "Why negotiate when you can annihilate?" No political party in the Likud bloc, including the ones to the extreme right, advocates or practices the annihilation of the Palestinian population in the territories. The Israeli government is currently trying to control a violent civil uprising with as much restraint as possible. Israeli soldiers and civilians are confronted daily with stones, blades, fire-bombs and other lethal weapons. The soldiers have strict orders to refrain from shooting unless their lives are in immediate danger. If the Israelis had in fact engaged in the violence depicted in Berman's cartoon, the uprising would not be currently entering its 13th month.

Moreover, the Likud party has repeatedly stated the need for peace and direct Israeli-Arab negotiations leading to Palestinian autonomy. This was first proposed by Likud Prime Minister Menachem Begin in the Camp David Accords, and continues to be the policy of Yitzhak Shamir. Then, as now, the Palestinians categorically refuse to renounce terrorism, recognize the State of Israel and come to the negotiating table.

It is true that the recent Israeli election witnessed an increase in the power of the religious parties. But the quip "more religious fanatics than ever" and its implication in the cartoon that the religious parties promote and engage in deadly violence are simply false. The religious parties are concerned with funding for religious institutions and the implementation of a number of religious laws governing the Sabbath. Nowhere do their religious convictions call for violence against the Arabs. Compare this, however, with the rising tide of Islamic fundamentalism in the territories, particularly the group Hamas, which recently issued a covenant calling for armed struggle against the Zionist entity.

Jennifer Berman's question, "Why negotiate when you can annihilate?" is more accurately directed toward the Arab states—to Jordan, which annihilated thousands of Palestinians in September 1970, to Syria, which massacred thousands of Syrians in Hama in February 1982, and to Iraq, which gassed thousands of Kurds to death in August-September 1988.

Kenneth Jacobson
Associate Director, International Affairs
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Jennifer Berman replies: Kenneth Jacobson's facts are so different from mine that I don't doubt his dictionary is equally revisionist. But according to my Webster's, annihilate means to "kill," or "to conquer decisively; crush." According to a recent "In Short" item, 390 Palestinians were killed and 3,640 were injured during the first year of the intifada. Included in that figure are 25 infants killed by tear gas.

Jacobson's bizarre Arab-bashing insinuates that Arab atrocities somehow make

Israel's human rights violations and murders acceptable. Call me whacky, but to me defamation of Arabs—or any other people—is just as evil as the defamation of Jews.

The Jewish home I was brought up in stressed the absolute importance of human rights for all people. How sad it was to spend Hanukkah, a celebration of the Jews' victory over oppression, knowing that, the shoe now on the other foot, my people in Israel are not acting differently.

Editor's note: Because Kenneth Jacobson signs his letter as an official for B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League (ADL)—a group founded in 1913 "to stop the defamation of Jews...to secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens alike"—an implicit message in his letter is that Jennifer Berman's cartoon criticizing the Likud party was anti-Semitic. Whether intentional or not, it is a false and dangerous implication. It is no more anti-Semitic or anti-Zionist to criticize Yitzhak Shamir than it is anti-Christian or anti-American to criticize Ronald Reagan.

Jacobson finds the word "annihilate" objectionable, but it is hardly unfair, given Shamir's threats that "not a single Arab will be left alive" if there is an armed Palestinian uprising. In the wake of Yassir Arafat's recent statements, Jacobson's assertion that "the Palestinians categorically refuse to renounce terrorism, recognize the state of Israel and come to the negotiating table" is clearly disinformation. Worse, it's defamation of Palestinians. Next time Kenneth Jacobson uses ADL letterhead, he should take a good look at the "to secure justice and fair treatment for all" part of his group's statement of purpose.

Every indication

IF THE OPINIONS ATTRIBUTED TO THE SOVIET "democratic" opposition in *In These Times* (Dec. 21, 1988) accurately reflect the views of the Soviet opposition in general, that movement is in serious trouble.

The illusions about Milton Friedman, the "democratic" adviser to Pinochet (not to mention Edward Gierke and Josef Tito), might be explainable as the well-known knee-jerk response, "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." Even so, Eastern European dissidents have long denounced the similar response of the Western left that led so many to apologize for, explain away or simply deny the existence of Stalin's police state. Eastern European victims of that police state rightly condemned such responses as immoral and accurately predicted the politically demoralizing consequences of such behavior. Yet none of

the "democratic" oppositionists quoted in the *In These Times* article seems to have even been aware of the moral and political ambiguity in their position. They smugly lectured their interviewers who are not apologists for Stalinism (classic or neo).

What is even more revealing about the politics of these "democrats" is that they completely ignored Polish Solidarity, a movement whose challenge to bureaucratic rule was not simply rhetorical, as is the case with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan and Friedman.

What is the "democrats'" attitude toward a trade union movement? If, as Lev Timofaev claims, "some prohibitions, some restrictions on the economy" mean "the free market starts to die" and "that is the first step to totalitarianism," does he then support the destruction of trade unions advocated by Friedman and actively pursued by Thatcher? Trade unions certainly represent a restriction on the free market in labor. More to the point, does he support the kind of austerity program the Polish regime is currently trying to carry out in the name of economic reform?

If Friedmanism is taken seriously, and every indication is that these oppositionists do take it seriously, then the proposal to close the Gdansk shipyards advanced by the Polish government is absolutely necessary. Certainly a white elephant like the Nova Huta steel works—another Solidarity stronghold—will have to go. The massive layoffs required to "Thatcherize" Polish industry would destroy Solidarity. And the dispute over this issue is even now polarizing the Polish opposition. Significant sections of the Catholic hierarchy and of Solidarity's own leadership are for a "compromise" in which Solidarity would endorse this kind of austerity program in return for recognition of the union. Only several million workers stand in the way of this historic compromise.

It seems to me to be a mistake to accept this kind of politics without challenge and baptize its advocates as "democrats." Their solution would require a police state as thoroughgoing as Stalin's.

E. Haberkern
Berkeley, Calif.

Editor's note: E. Haberkern seems to have missed the point of the conversation with Lev Timofaev. His own description of the need for "social programs" and for the government to tax industrial polluters in order to stop pollution fundamentally contradicts Milton Friedman.

Green independence

DAVE LINDORFF (ITT, NOV. 16) IS RIGHT: THE "NEXT left" will be Green.

The welfare state may have tamed the "internal contradictions" of capitalism sufficiently to render the traditional left focus on economic class interests incapable of uniting a majoritarian, anti-capitalist left. But, given capitalism's structural imperative of economic growth, the "external contradiction" between capitalism and the environment cannot be tamed. The life-threatening ecological crisis produced by capitalism (and by Eastern-bloc state capitalism, as Lindorff rightly adds) leaves no one unaffected. And this crisis can be resolved only by bringing the economy under democratic ownership and control in order to uncouple the capitalist growth dynamic.

Here then, Lindorff argues, is an issue (ecological breakdown), an analysis (the anti-ecological nature of capitalism) and a demand (a democratic, publicly-owned economy) that can unite a new majoritarian, anti-capitalist left internationally—a theme that a Green left can use as "a rallying cry in both poor black neighborhoods and white working-class suburbs, not to mention Detroit, Marseilles and Kiev."

But then, in his last two paragraphs, Lindorff contradicts his analysis by suggesting that it is a "mistake" for Greens in Europe to resist coalitions with social democrats and "beside the point" to debate whether the Green movement in the U.S. should develop inside or outside the Democratic Party. If Lindorff's analysis is correct, there can be no compromise with capitalism—our survival depends on it—and, therefore, no compromising the Greens' anti-capitalist identity and program with the social democratic and liberal parties that have become integral parts of the capitalist state economy. The Green movement Lindorff calls for needs to be a real left—anti-capitalist, internationalist and independent.

A Green movement is indeed growing in the U.S., with already over 100 local groups across the country. They are engaged in a variety of social and environmental campaigns, some are beginning to field independent Green candidates, and a couple have already been elected. The Lake Superior Greens, founded on the Red River Chippewa Reservation, have elected Frank Koehn to the Bayfield County Board in Wisconsin and the New Haven (Conn.) Greens have elected a black woman, Toni Harp, to their city council.

But whether or not this growing Green movement in the U.S. will cohere around the anti-capitalist orientation that flows

Continued on following page

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

LETTERS

Continued from preceding page

from Lindorff's analysis is far from clear yet. Alongside leftist socialists and eco-socialists, there are "neither-left-nor-right" New Age tendencies, anti-social deep ecologists, and some Green Democrats and even Republicans. With the direction of this promising movement now up in the air, it is time for more ecologically oriented socialists to get involved.

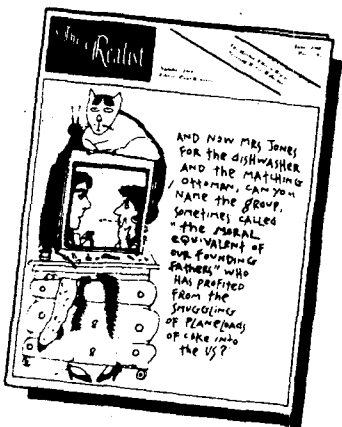
As an organizational home for such activists, a Left Green Network is being organized by U.S. and Canadian activists. The Left Greens agree with Lindorff that the "next left" will be Green, but they also firmly believe it should be independent. The Left Green Network's call, draft principles and information about its first conference this winter can be obtained from P.O. Box 372, West Lebanon, NH 03784.

Howard Hawkins
West Lebanon, N.H.

ZEN BASTARD RIDES AGAIN

People magazine recently called Paul Krassner "father of the underground press." Naturally he demanded a blood test. But Krassner did publish *The Realist* from 1958 to 1974, and now he's doing it again, as a satirical newsletter. The first ten issues—still available—include:

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Human canaries

IN HER RECENT ARTICLE "SILENT SUMMER" (ITT, Nov. 23), Kate Millpointer describes in detail the effects of recent radioactive emissions on several species of birds. She concludes: "Ornithologists generally agree that birds can be regarded as early warning systems for humans because they are extremely sensitive to the environment—like the canary in the coal mine. The miners never knew when poisonous gases were accumulating to dangerous levels. When the canary died, the miners got out. Did birds send a similar message to humanity in the summer of 1986—this time about the dangers of low-level radiation?"

If they did, they are a little late. Many of us have already gotten the message, and have been getting it for the last 40 years. We are the ones who have been diagnosed with "environmental illness," or "multiple chemical sensitivities." We have been reacting with a variety of symptoms, some quite severe, to the more than 70,000 new synthetic chemicals now part of common everyday products. Radiation, radon, asbestos and auto exhaust, all widely publicized, are but a part of our total chemical load, as they are a part of everyone's. We react only because we have gone over our tolerance threshold.

As Rachel Carson expressed it over 25 years ago: "The contamination of our world is not alone a matter of mass spraying; indeed, for most of us this is of no less importance than the innumerable small-scale exposures to which we are subjected day by day, year after year. Like the constant dripping of water that in turn wears away the hardest stone, this birth-to-death contact with dangerous chemicals may in the end prove disastrous.... Lulled by the soft sell and hidden persuader, the average citizen is seldom aware of the deadly materials with which he is surrounding himself; indeed he may not realize he is using them at all."

In short, it is we with environmental illness who are the canaries in the mine—a not-so-distant early warning system. We

want our fellow human beings to know that they are indeed in danger from poisonous gases. It is time for all of us to get out of the chemical miasma we live in.

Lynn Lawson
Human Ecology Action League (HEAL)
Evanston, Ill.

Krafty monsters revisited

WHERE THERE'S SMOKE THERE'S VELVEETA (ITT, Nov. 16, 1988) attacks the proposed merger of Philip Morris with Kraft, focusing on common knowledge: cigarette smoking causes cancer. The authors, Douglas and Durham, would halt the proposed merger and prohibit Philip Morris from moving into the food industry because of "flagrant disregard for people's health" as demonstrated by their continued production and sale of cigarettes. Philip Morris, like other cigarette manufacturers, continues to supply cigarettes because there is a demand for them. Cigarettes will disappear when people quit buying them.

In the article the authors compare the proposed Philip Morris/Kraft merger with the R.J. Reynolds/Nabisco merger that transpired several years ago. They failed, however, to demonstrate how that particular merger enabled the now RJR Nabisco to carry out the same abuses of power that they are predicting for Philip Morris.

It seems entirely possible that tobacco companies are not really "Krafty monsters" trying to poison our bodies with "cancer, emphysema and heart disease" but rather companies trying to diversify. And can we not credit Philip Morris with the same business insight and common sense as RJR Nabisco? That is, move into other product areas in order to maintain a solid business base.

Douglas and Durham fail to indicate what will happen to cigarette manufacturers if they are not allowed to move into other markets. If we can justify barring them from the food industry for the reasons given in their article, surely we can bar them from all other business ventures as well. In time, then, when cigarettes are outlawed or the demand has vanished, so will the companies that manufacture them, along with the jobs they provide.

Eugene Johnston
Littleton, Colo.

Planning, not genocide

SALIM MUWAKKIL'S STORY ABOUT ABORTION, "Black America's unspoken issue" (ITT, Nov. 9), was particularly interesting. The arguments advanced by Nathan and Julia Hares and others—in summary, that abortion is a white tool for black genocide—are frightening because they could hurt black children by increasing the proportion who are born unwanted. They would also saddle more young black women with child-rearing responsibilities that make it impossible for them to finish their education and become self-sufficient.

The arguments are not only dangerous, but factually wrong. Abortion has not caused genocide: the black population is steadily growing, from 9.9 percent of the population in 1950 to 12.1 percent in 1984,

and it is projected to reach 14.3 percent in 2020. In 1985 pregnant black teenagers were only 76 percent as likely to have an abortion as whites. But surprisingly, there is a little-known grain of truth to what they say: the birthrate among black teenagers has actually been decreasing, from 148 per 1,000 in 1970 to 96 per 1,000 in 1984. Black teenage pregnancy may have become more visible partly because the proportion of mothers who remain unmarried—and lack financial support—has increased from 66 percent in 1970 to 91 percent in 1984. And the birthrate among teenage blacks remains more than twice the rate among whites, as does the infant mortality rate.

The purpose of family planning is not to commit genocide against black people, but to enable black and white women to wait to have a child until they are ready to nurture a child, without destroying their own chance to escape poverty.

Kim Wentz, M.D.
Epidemiologist, Children's Hospital
Seattle, Wash.

Safeguard

THE LETTERS REPUDIATING A LEFT ALLIANCE with the Democratic Party (ITT, Dec. 7, 1988) were encouraging; however, *In These Times'* response was disconcerting. Although your premises for collaboration with the Democrats were valid per se, they are irrelevant to a political process that would turn around our greed-drive, self-serving and crisis-generating political institutions. The cycle of euphoria, perfidy and disintegration that accompanied the Jackson candidacy was the logical outcome of a charismatic demagogue leading a passive electorate. It was natural for Jackson to stab his Arab-American supporters in the back and run interference for the pro-contra senator in order to gather Jewish votes and consolidate his status within the Democratic Party.

The essential factor in a democracy is not elections or political parties but the empowerment of the people. The lure of a quick fix, which focuses on the election of a good Democrat, diverts attention from the fundamental contradictions of bourgeois society and serves to ratify the empowerment of a ruling elite. Justice can become a reality only when it has become the goal and commitment of the majority of the American people. They must study, organize, dialogue, struggle and participate collectively in the decision-making process. Such dialectics imbedded in the consciousness of the people would safeguard them from cooptation by demagogues and charlatans.

Prototypes of such organizations exist within the Latin American Christian Base Communities, the Nicaragua FSLN, the Salvadoran FMLN and the Palestinian *intifada*. The theory is articulated in the works of Noam Chomsky and Paulo Freire.

Bill Stivers
Anchorage, Alas.

Correction

The Nov. 9, 1988, issue of *In These Times* contained an incorrect spelling of writer Bill Kauffman's name. We regret the error.

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By Dick Flacks

ANTI-COMMUNISM HAS MANY VARIETIES and roots. It is in large part grounded in right-wing and capitalist opposition to socialism, in conservative church antipathy to traditional Marxist atheism and in bureaucratic national security needs for a demonic enemy. As an ideology, anti-communism serves ruling elite interests in justifying repression and militarization and in defusing working-class militance.

But it also has left-wing roots. Anarchists and socialists warred with Marxists well before the Bolshevik revolution; Socialist Party members and Wobblies found reasons to be betrayed by the postrevolutionary happenings in the Soviet Union and by the actions and rhetoric of Lenin's followers in the U.S.

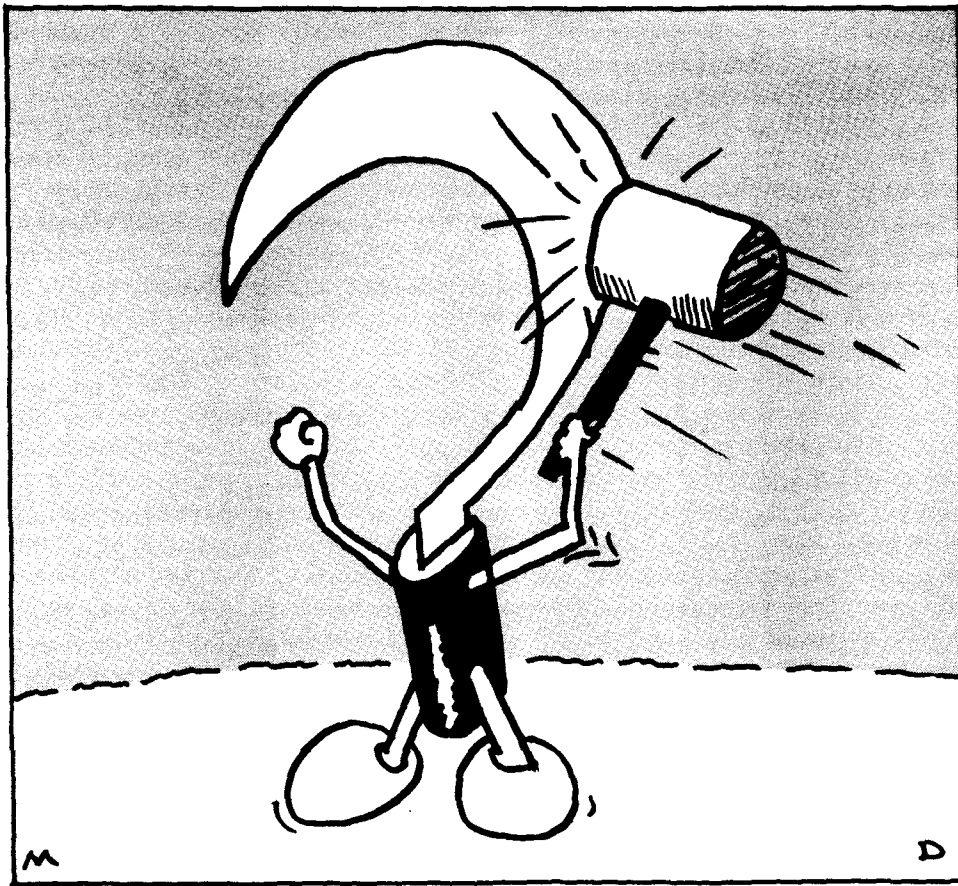
Communist Party (CP) splits from the '20s on added new dissidents, critics and renegades to the growing number and variety of left-wing anti-communists, as did the Moscow purge trials, the Nazi-Soviet Pact, the Browder expulsion, the Khrushchov speech, the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary, the Sino-Soviet split, the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia and other developments that discredited Soviet claims to revolutionary hegemony and the American CP's legitimacy as a force on the left.

The Harvard Conference on Anti-Communism in November tended to underplay the fact that the really influential critiques of the Soviet Union and of the communist movement have come from the left rather than the right. It also failed to come to grips with the fact that anti-communism is not just an ideology elaborated by elites—it is also a deep current in American popular consciousness. Indeed, Americans may well be the most anti-communist population in the world.

Blinders on: Conference participants certainly recognized the pervasiveness of anti-communism. But the explanations for its hold on the American mind seemed exceedingly shallow. Speakers displayed an extraordinary fondness for media-bashing. Many saw popular anti-communism as almost entirely the result of media deception, misinformation and bias. Others viewed anti-communism as the expression of deep pathologies in the American psyche. A major conference theme was that anti-anti-communists see the world true and are somehow immune to prevailing psychopathology. We few must therefore serve as America's saving remnant, given the blindness of America's sheeplike majority.

Such perspectives are both self-isolating and self-serving. Left activity, if it is to be true to its democratic claims, can't be based on assumptions that Americans are politically irrational. Instead, we need always to see how consciousness is grounded in the realities of daily experience and the organization of daily life. In general, people's lives are guided, not by ideologies, but by the felt demands of everyday existence—the demands of livelihood and household, of those we care for and about, of those who are interdependent with us. Daily time and energy goes primarily to meet these demands—and the practical morality of real life stresses these as the most important for us to attend and to live out.

Political consciousness in American culture is best understood as expressing the



Anti-communism as a product of communism

"politics of everyday life." This is a politics that aims at protecting and sustaining the lives people believe they are entitled to have. It is, by definition, a conservative politics: people in general resist any ideological framework that challenges the validity of the way they live, and particularly those that call upon them to take actions that might tear the fabric of accustomed life or risk themselves and cherished others.

When people do mobilize for extraordinary action that has such risk, they often do so to protect their accustomed ways of life—radical action taken for what amount to conservative ends. When people come to the point of struggling to liberate themselves from traditional ways of life, it is usually because conditions have come to a point that such traditional ways are no longer able to be lived.

Liberty vs. the state: Like all ideological currents of the left, communism inherently challenges the politics of the everyday. Resistance or ambivalence toward communism is a rational, natural propensity for most people. In the U.S., such resistance is reinforced and elaborated by a culture that stresses individual freedom—"liberty"—as the essence of the good life. In American culture, perhaps more than any other, the good society is defined as one in which people are free to make their own lives, in which people are held individually responsible for their good and bad fortunes, in which they have free time and space to choose their own fulfillments. Less articulated as essential to the good society are images of shared fate, cooperative effort, collective action and mutual aid—images of democracy, community, public discourse.

Communism is a despised symbol largely because Americans see it as the polar opposite of liberty. Communism signifies a society in which personal choice with respect to belief, livelihood, religion, place of resi-

dence and use of time is obliterated—in which there is no privacy, personal relationships can be poisoned by demands of the state and individual merit is unrewarded. Thus the idea of "communism" as the negation of the American ideal of freedom and the good life supports the inherent conservatism in the politics of everyday life.

The Cold War: After World War II this negation was combined with the image of the "communist menace"—the demonization and criminalization of communism. Americans did not experience the communist threat directly; the image of the Soviet menace was rooted not primarily in Soviet behavior but in the prior fact of fascist expansion with which Stalin's actions could be equated.

A domestic threat of communism was harder to construct, since most Americans never came in contact with actual communists—and because communists had merged themselves almost entirely into popularly based movements and organizations rather than operate openly as communists. The whole apparatus of McCarthyite repression served a double function. On one hand, it made the communist threat plausible by providing real, in the flesh exemplars (whose secret identity as communists seemed to confirm the menace). On the other hand, the McCarthyite crusade made it clear that it was safer to be anti-communist than indifferent or ambivalent on the question. Indeed, for many the legacy of the McCarthy period was a sense that politics itself was unsafe terrain, further reinforcing not only the anti-communism but also privatism.

Public indifference: We are told that in the '50s popular anti-communism became a "hysteria." Redbaiting certainly helped some politicians win majorities. Anti-communist groups had sizable memberships and considerable political clout. And the

fear of the inquisitors was pervasive.

But even in the '50s Americans did not want to send their sons to fight communism in Korea. They approved of Eisenhower's moves toward detente and welcomed Khrushchov with curiosity and considerable warmth. When Kennedy signed the nuclear test ban treaty with Khrushchov his popularity reached a peak—and ever since, American presidents have known that their political viability has depended on being able to reach tension-reducing agreements with the Kremlin. Nixon was popular, not as an anti-communist crusader but as the president who met with Mao. In general, Americans have opposed military mobilization and other war-threatening moves even when made in the name of anti-communism, and have supported normalization of relations—even with the most despised of the communist states.

In short, the anti-communist crusade, while consented to, has never been wholeheartedly supported by the majority of Americans. The same politics of everyday life that leads that majority to resist ideologies of revolutionary change and to see communism as evil suggests to most that it is better to co-exist with communists than to try to destroy them. War, arms races and international polarization are felt as greater threats than communism. Americans have seen the communist threat as real enough to support a defense budget rationalized by deterrence (and providing some economic security to many communities)—but more militant national postures profoundly jeopardize accustomed ways of life.

These same attitudes set limits on McCarthyism, which petered out when Americans began to see the red scare itself as threatening to daily life. Informing, wiretapping, FBI surveillance, purges, witch hunts—all these threatened the privacy and liberty that the politics of everyday life seeks to protect. To take the red menace seriously would be to give up one's normal life in favor of a frightening and repugnant kind of political involvement. There always have been those willing to participate in anti-communist crusades—at least to the extent of contributing dollars and attending rallies—but even these only fitfully respond to demagogic appeals.

The politics of everyday life predisposes Americans to put themselves, their families and their chosen ways of life ahead of generalized ideologies of all sorts. Accordingly, Americans are highly resistant to "communism"—but they are also highly resistant to anti-communism—insofar as this is an ideology that calls on them to make sacrifices and to dedicate their lives to active opposition to a demonic force.

Leftists often despair at American resistance to ideological appeals. But we might take heart in their refusal to be mobilized for abstract historical projects and self-denying national adventures. Indeed, the future of the left lies in making links between daily life and collective action and thereby nourishing the democratic and libertarian spirit.

Dick Flacks is the author of the recently published *Making History: The American Left and the American Mind*, in which ideas sketched here are more fully explored.

This article is a version of a talk given at the Conference on Anti-Communism at Harvard University, November 11-13, 1988.

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Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization and the California Food Processing Industry 1930-1950

By Vicki L. Ruiz
University of New Mexico Press
212 pp., \$11.95

Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley

By Patricia Zavella
Cornell University Press,
216 pp., \$10.95

By Dana Frank

Chicana cannery workers: invisible women materialize

of peach fuzz against their skin, for example, cannery women passed on to new coworkers the secret of coating their hands and arms with cold cream.

In the late '30s a radical CIO affiliate, the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) sent organizers into these canneries, and union activity spread swiftly along the paths of the cold cream. In Los Angeles in 1939, for example, one local signed up 400 members out of a total workforce of 430 in three weeks. By the decade's end UCAPAWA had organized more than 100,000 cannery and packinghouse workers in the U.S. (exact figures are lost), more than half of them female. The labor shortages of World War II would only strengthen the union's hand.

As Ruiz tells it, the story of UCAPAWA is a glorious and inspiring one. A majority of UCAPAWA's local officeholders, especially at the level of the shop steward and local executive board, were female, and the union incorporated many women's concerns into its contracts. In 1946, for example, two-thirds of its contracts contained "equal pay for equal work" clauses, and three-quarters gave maternity leave without seniority loss. UCAPAWA was a model of anti-racist, democratic, feminist unionism.

On the horizon, however, loomed the familiar enemies of agricultural unionism: the California growers' bloc, the federal and state governments and that sweetheart of the growers, the Teamsters union. Their collusion, redbaiting and thuggery ushered in a new postwar era of Teamster domination in which UCAPAWA swiftly collapsed.

Ruiz' book is concise, readable and full of astonishing successes engendered by a core of deeply committed organizers. The full role of

those organizers, though, remains undeveloped. As Ruiz notes, of nine key women organizers for UCAPAWA in the cannery industry, at least seven were Communists. While Ruiz does speculate a bit as to how that might have mattered, she "refuse[s] to delve into the quag-

LABOR

mire of debate concerning the degree of CP influence, on the ground that it really did not matter to the rank and file."

But to celebrate UCAPAWA without crediting the CP is not only unfair to the historical record, but does a disservice to those today who try to replicate UCAPAWA's success without the key historical lessons of what it was about the CP that made UCAPAWA possible. Ruiz, for example, lauds the union for demanding that blacks be hired during World War II—yet surely the Party as much as Chicana rank and filers had something to do with this.

"Oh, she doesn't work": Patricia Zavella, an anthropologist, takes up the same canneries 40 years later. Now Chicana cannery workers, retaining precious seniority through

many seasons, are married, middle-aged, with children. If Ruiz' book takes up one invisibility, that of Chicanas' militance at the paid workplace, and one struggle, that for justice at the workplace, Zavella's book turns to the terrain of the family and the struggle for justice in the world of unwaged work. But to characterize Ruiz' study as one of class struggle and Zavella's as one of gender would be to deny the full complexity of race, class and gender as they merge here.

Zavella opens her book with the story of her interview with Gloria Gonzales, a cannery worker living in San Jose's east-side barrio. After Zavella explained her interest in women workers to Gloria, Gloria's husband interjected: "Oh, she doesn't work, she just sits around the house all day." Zavella observed that she had been told that Gloria was a cannery worker. Her husband replied, "Oh, she is." Zavella then asked Gloria how long she had worked. Her answer: 24 years.

The story, in other words, is about invisibility. As Zavella draws out in interviews with 24 Chicana cannery workers in the Santa Clara Valley, both the women and their husbands

perceive women's long-term wage-earning activities as temporary—and therefore not necessitating a restructuring of unwaged work within the family. Family ideologies of male as wage earner and woman as housewife have remained intact for decades despite the obvious spectacle of cannery women's strenuous "double day" for the long, sweltering months of cannery work.

The key to this ideological *tour de force* lies in the seasonal nature of women's work in the canneries. Here Zavella demonstrates adeptly what others theorize, but few prove. Women's occupational segregation at the waged workplace in turn shapes their struggle for equitable divisions of labor within the family—just as the reverse is true: women's position in the family restricts their labor force participation and occupational mobility.

The canneries shape this cycle doubly. First, as Zavella documents, like the electronics and garment industries—the other jobs open to Chicanas—they only hire women in seasonal jobs that reinforce women's perceived "temporary" status in the labor market. Second, they bar women from the full-time, lucrative jobs that would make it possible for them to bargain within their families more effectively.

No concessions: Zavella, like Ruiz, succeeds beautifully at pulling her subjects out of the stereotyped never-never land of Chicano "culture." She does note the power of the Chicano family ideology of breadwinner man, subservient woman. But she also points out the similarity between this supposed uniquely "macho" ideal and the Anglo family model.

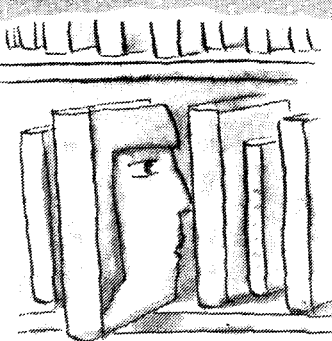
Similarly, both authors (quite consciously, I would guess) place their findings on Chicanas in the context of the literature on women and work, largely derived from the study of white women. They refuse to concede to the isolation of Chicano studies outside of the forces of class, gender and race in the broader development of U.S. society.

Zavella also places discussion of Chicano family dynamics in the larger context of the economic and occupational structure of the food-processing industry. As she notes in a postscript, by the time her book went to press almost all the women she interviewed had been laid off, as the canneries moved out of the Santa Clara Valley to more lucrative areas.

This same broad restructuring of the industry prompted Watsonville cannery owners to demand wholesale concessions from their Mexicana and Chicana workers in 1985. After reading these two books, it comes as no surprise at all that the women replied, "You say give back—we say fight back!" Nor does it come as a surprise that they won. ■

Dana Frank teaches history and women's studies at the University of Missouri-St. Louis.

NOTEBOOK



Writing a Woman's Life

By Carolyn G. Heilbrun
W.W. Norton
144 pp., \$14.95

Up until about 25 years ago, a history of well-known women would have detailed the lives of intelligent but passive females who were somehow led, usually by God, to outstanding achievements. Portraits of women focused on family, husbands and lovers, rarely noting the subjects' personal strength, and certainly not their ambition.

In recent years feminist critics have examined some of these omissions, and women writers have begun to reveal what Virginia Woolf called "the truth of their lives." In *Writing A Woman's Life*, Carolyn G. Heilbrun continues the process, peeling away the many layers of "closure" surrounding the decisions and re-

lationships in the lives of determined, accomplished women.

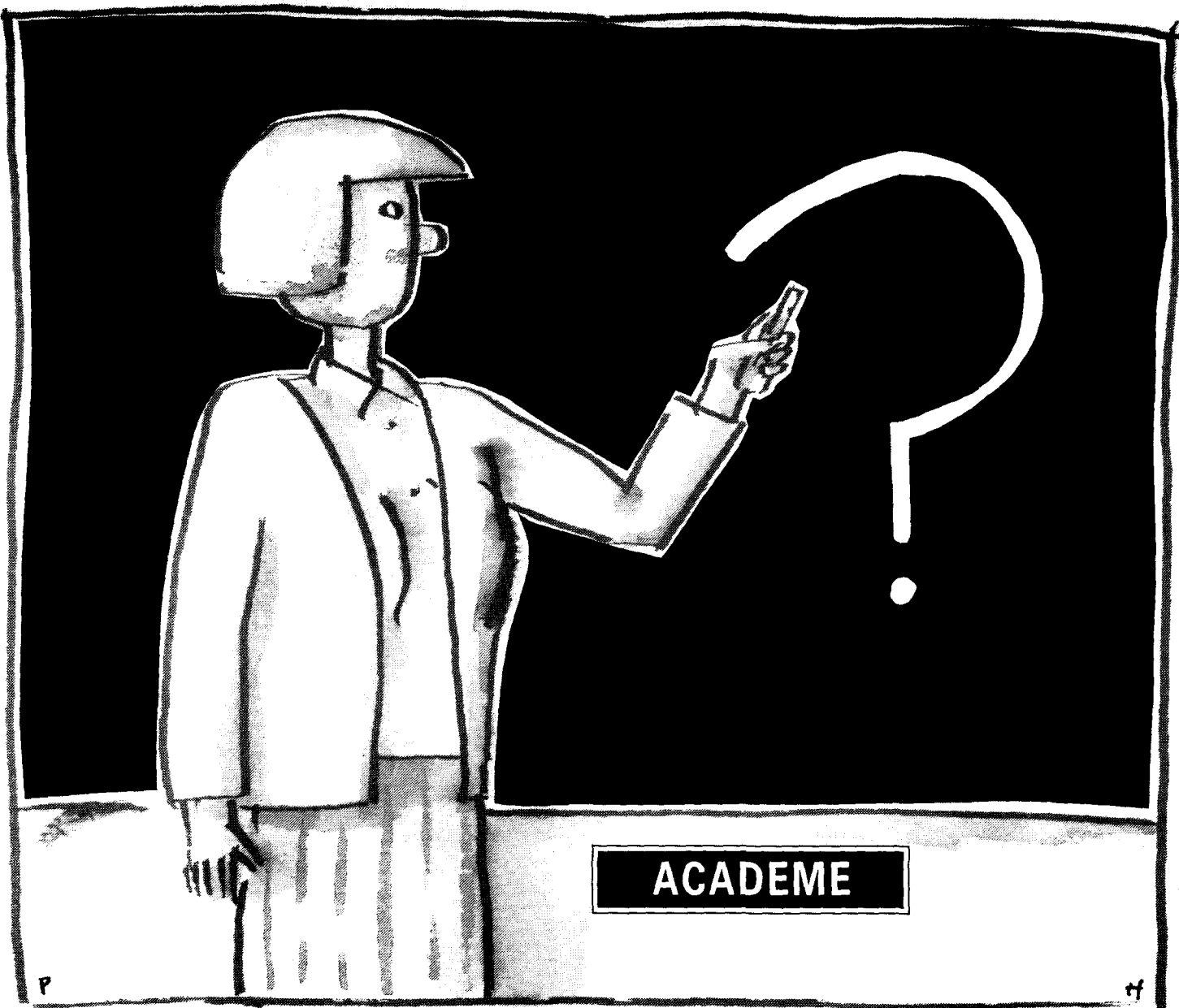
The book offers varying accounts of how women, primarily writers, built lives that focused not on men or family, but on their work. Hardly a shocking idea today, but the fullness of these women's lives has rarely been acknowledged in biography or autobiography.

From George Sand to Florence Nightingale to Anne Sexton, Heilbrun outlines lost texts of biography. *Writing A Woman's Life* is a dense, but quick read. A professor and author of mysteries under the pseudonym Amanda Cross, Heilbrun offers a guide (of sorts) to understanding the lives of many leading women of the last two centuries.

She also proposes that women look for new ways to narrate their lives. Instead of Virginia Woolf's call for "A Room of One's Own," Heilbrun observes that women must turn to each other, writing their lives in conversation and friendship. In a triumphant conclusion, she argues that eventually, "the changed life for women" will be characterized by laughter, courage and old age.

—Maggie Garb

Family ideologies of male as wage earner and female as housewife have remained intact despite the spectacle of women's strenuous "double day" for the long, sweltering months of cannery work.



**Women of Academe:
Outsiders in the Sacred Grove**
By Nadya Aisenberg and Mona Harrington
University of Massachusetts Press
207 pp., \$10.95

By William E. Cain

Women struggle to make the grade

IN THIS ABSORBING, THOUGHTFUL BOOK, Nadya Aisenberg and Mona Harrington describe the struggles and occasional triumphs of women in academic life. Their study is based on two sets of interviews: the first, with women "off the normal career track" who are employed part time or not at all; the second, with women who have risen in the ranks and received tenure. The words of these women, which Aisenberg and Harrington quote at length, are frequently moving and enlightening—not only for what they suggest about the trials that women face in colleges and universities, but also for what they reveal about the hard choices that confront women throughout the workplace and public sphere.

The women's movement, Aisenberg and Harrington reflect, has certainly enabled many women to enter professions formerly closed to them. But it has by no means ended the pressure on women to marry, raise children and take care of a husband. The seeming inevitability of the "marriage plot" still pervades American society, and even ardent feminists continue to feel swayed by its power.

Many women in the academy, Aisenberg and Harrington show, labor mightily to integrate the double de-

sires for family and career. Yet few have done so successfully. Many women recognize the extreme difficulty of being both a mother and a productive scholar-teacher, yet they refuse directly to explore this tensely polarized situation. Most cope as best they can and hope that somehow neither career nor domestic life will seriously suffer.

Custom-made academy: But it's not simply that these women want both a family and a profession. They also conceive of their profession—its nature, obligations, goals—differently from the way men characteristically do. These women balked at the codes and customs of the academy, finding that the male-centered ethic of "professionalism" saps the meaning from creative intellectual work as women understand it.

Aisenberg and Harrington write: *To become a professional, for women, is not simply to acquire a marketable skill, but to acquire a dignified, empowering identity, frequently for the first time. And whenever the academic game requires dealing in images or carefully packaged products as opposed to 'worthwhile' projects, it threatens the very identity that women have so painstakingly created. In short, having experienced the inspiring*

power of ideas valued for themselves, women are appalled to see ideas reduced to commodities and the academic world reduced from a life-supporting sanctuary to just another place of commerce.

Aisenberg and Harrington respect the feelings that motivate such alienation and resistance without sentimentalizing them. Indeed, they tough-mindedly insist that women "use the rules to change the rules." While acknowledging the risks of

Many women in the academy, Aisenberg and Harrington show, labor mightily to integrate their double desires for family and career.

such an argument—can one play by the rules without becoming permanently wedded to them?—they judge that women who shun or neglect traditional aids to professional advancement will almost certainly fall by the wayside.

Aisenberg and Harrington recommend that women in the academy

learn all they can about the challenges women in the professions encounter. Women must be able to "choose knowingly in a situation of necessary compromise." Aisenberg and Harrington urge women to support one another by joining women's groups and alliances for change. They further emphasize the need for academic women to publish and take part in scholarly meetings, in order to muster the credentials and form the collegial networks that professional survival and success require.

More generally and importantly, however, Aisenberg and Harrington highlight the value of careful preparation and sensible strategy. They recommend five- and 10-year plans that accentuate conscious choices and check the tendency among professional women to move awkwardly, unevenly and painfully toward their goals "through ad hoc, reactive maneuvers" performed "almost on a day-to-day basis." Women must anticipate how marriage and children will affect their professional aspirations. Having a family, it is hoped, will prove deeply rewarding, but, at least for the short term, it will almost surely mean the interruption and sacrifice of career.

Family plot: On the subject of marriage, write Aisenberg and Harrington, the lesson of the interviews is "startlingly clear":

Women have the best chance of integrating rich personal and professional lives that include marriage if they marry a man willing and able, in advance of any general societal restructuring, to restructure the tradi-

tional marriage relation.

One wonders, of course, how many men would be willing to alter their role in the typical "marriage plot," either by running the household or by working a job with a flexible schedule. And like their mates, they would need to temper their drive for professional achievement.

Or else they would have to be men with high-paying jobs. Aisenberg and Harrington note only in passing the relationship between money and the quest for "integration" of family and work. As they point out, many academic women have been grievously hurt by the burdens of debt and expensive child care.

One of the limits, then, to Aisenberg and Harrington's valuable book is its relative lack of analytical attention to class position and the advantages of money. Another limit—one that the authors concede—is the absence of blacks and self-identified lesbians in the pool of interviewees. Race and sexual choice are factors that warrant investigation, for they qualify and complicate Aisenberg and Harrington's commentary about the standard "marriage plot" and the types of bias and victimization that women experience.

"Special" difficulties: I am also inclined to question Aisenberg and Harrington's lengthy account of women's "special" approach to scholarship. They contend that women favor non-traditional topics, accessible forms of discourse, interdisciplinary and contextual analysis, expansion of the canon of classic authors and texts, and concrete engagement with reality rather than abstract theory. This may be true up to a point, but many men also share these interests and assumptions about the best means for undertaking intellectual work—just as they also harbor a highly developed (and sometimes self-destructive) notion about the "purity" of their scholarship as opposed to the corrupt practices of the professional mainstream.

Aisenberg and Harrington do admit from time to time that men in the academy voice many of the concerns that trouble women, but suggest that the issues are invariably of "sharper significance" for women. A defensible view perhaps, yet one that may underrate the damage inflicted on men as well as women by institutions that coercively define both gender roles.

While these faults are important to note, they do not detract from the richness and subtlety of *Women of Academe*. The authors write with passion and precision. They call for systemic change in social arrangements and institutions, as well as provide cogent practical advice. Throughout their book, they sensitively weave the eloquent testimonies of women fortunate enough to find enrichment in the academy and those whose dreams remain painfully unrealized. ■

William E. Cain's most recent book is *F.O. Matthiessen and the Politics of Criticism* (University of Wisconsin Press).

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The Color of Honor: Filmmaker Loni Ding examines the inside stories of Japanese-Americans in World War II.

Two documentaries probe why home is where the heart breaks

By Pat Aufderheide

DOCUMENTARY FILMMAKERS don't go into the unglamorous wing of cinema to reproduce conventional wisdom. They seek offbeat characters and suppressed stories and rearrange fragments of reality, all in order to take the dust off the familiar, challenge official narrative and reclaim the personal and immediate. The excitement of watching documentary is the shock of the real cutting through our myths about reality.

But it's not enough to brandish one's differences with received reality, especially on an issue that cuts close to the bone, such as racism. That's where skill comes into play. Two recent documentaries provide excellent and very different approaches to that challenge.

The Color of Honor, showing on many PBS stations Jan. 11 (but check local listings), does more than recover a buried piece of history—the role of Japanese-Americans in World War II. It also offers a way to under-

stand the disparate strands of a story, some of which we usually prefer to ignore, and some of which have long been officially suppressed. Veteran documentarian Loni Ding (*Nisei Soldier*, 600 *Millenia: China's History Unearthed*, the *Beansprouts* series) has centered her hour-and-a-half documentary on the different ways that Japanese-Americans defended their honor when over 120,000 of them were interned in government camps at the beginning of the war.

Family honor: The internments plunged hard-working Japanese-American families into a netherworld in which their civil rights were violated and their social and economic status destroyed at a stroke. As important as daily survival was the preservation of dignity—which was as much a family and cultural affair as it was an individual one.

The burden of reclaiming honor fell hard on the shoulders of Nisei (second-generation) men of draft age. While denying these men their civil rights, the government also re-

quired them to sign loyalty oaths and strongly encouraged them to enlist. If the men enlisted, that often removed a crucial member of the family and implicitly acceded to the government's internment policy. If they didn't enlist, they were accused of being unpatriotic—even by their own peers.

The Color of Honor hinges on this dilemma. In interviews with veterans and family members intercut with archival footage, family mementos and evocative re-enactments that function like family album photos, the film recreates not merely what happened, but how it has been remembered and, more difficult still, how it felt. The result is a film that, with gentle persuasion, revives intense political and psychological conflicts.

Some Nisei men volunteered for the all-Japanese 442nd Regiment, as those who saw Ding's earlier *Nisei Soldier* know. We see in *The Color of Honor* what it meant to one French family to see their town liberated by people they initially thought were

the enemy. Most of the film, however, concerns the less-heralded stories of those Nisei who served in Military Intelligence and those who resisted.

Secret heroism: Americans who spoke fluent Japanese—such as the Kibei who had studied in Japan in their childhood—were a crucial element of the war effort, serving as Military Intelligence translators both at home and at the front. It was a thankless job, performed under suspicion and in secret (for many years later, the material the film draws on was classified by the U.S. Army).

The film probes what it meant to Japanese-Americans to serve under a cloud: interrogating dying Japanese soldiers, negotiating surrender

FILM

among Asian populations who might confuse them with Japanese, and fighting in zones where they might be fired on by their own forces. Heroism, we learn, often went unrecognized even afterward, when the names of such soldiers were struck from the honor rolls without ceremony.

Why did they fight? As one veteran says, "This is the only country I have." Others explain that they held in their minds their responsibility to peers and families.

For another group of Nisei, honor meant challenging the authorities. The "D-B boys" (D-B was for "Detention Barracks") enlisted but—provoked by an incident when they were held under gunpoint while their battalion was visited by President Roosevelt—refused to fight until Japanese-American civil rights were restored. Others refused to enlist under the conditions of internment, in what they considered to be a defense of their patriotism. And tens of thousands of Nisei and Kibei refused to sign loyalty oaths, which they considered an insult to their rights as American citizens.

Shame: If the pursuit of honor motivated these resisters, the subculture that supported their quest also militated against such gestures. Many interned Japanese-Americans found the actions of these men shameful, and the pain of their choices is still visible on the faces of the men interviewed. However, some Japanese-American resistance was eventually vindicated. Those court-martialed won a presidential pardon after the war, and some were eventually reinstated. Draft resisters won an appeal of their conviction for violating the Selective Service Act. Their work, as well as the heroism of Nisei soldiers, helped in the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which finally acknowledged the injustice of internment, offering an apology and monetary reparations.

That news makes a happy ending of sorts to a documentary pivoting on racist injustice. But *The Color of Honor* doesn't really need its sum-

mary ending of belated good news from courts and Congress to cap its emotional drama. The film resolutely avoids a victims-and-villains mentality. Its drama is internal, using the events of World War II as a crucible for the pursuit of honor.

"I wanted to use a first-person approach—history as remembrance," Loni Ding told *In These Times*. Ding carefully selected the voices and faces she used: "There are angry people, but they express it so you can't understand it. I am making my films for a general American public, who may not know anything of this. I wanted a more reflective tone—look steadily at it, and you will be rewarded." *The Color of Honor's* use of re-enactment and nostalgic images from the period enhances the film's reflective quality. That tone allows an audience to view the past from inside the experience—a struggle for honor specific to Japanese-Americans but familiar to Americans of all ancestries.

Asian-Americans in this generation have been recovering family stories that make up a hidden part of American history on film and video, as showcased by the National Asian American Telecommunications Association, which distributes *The Color of Honor* and other programs. Those interested in the subject may also want to view the hour-long *Unfinished Business*, Steven Okazaki's poignant portrayal of internment, and Lise Yasui's elegant *Family Gathering*, a half-hour account of Yasui's sometimes-painful excavation of her own family history of the epoch. *Family Gathering*, which recently won a gold medal at the Chicago Film Festival, is especially interesting for the way that remembrance is clouded over even within families, although the effects of the events echo through the generations. It, too, fulfills the promise that Loni Ding notes: "Look steadily at it, and you will be rewarded."

Racism and real estate: *This Is Our Home, It Is Not For Sale*, by Jon Schwartz, showing at the Museum of Modern Art in New York January 19 after a successful series of festival screenings, offers another window on how racism colors American history. Schwartz' window is real estate. He has made a three-hour film on his old Riverside neighborhood in suburban Houston, once home to a mixed white middle-class neighborhood and especially Jews shut out of the "better neighborhoods." Most whites left the neighborhood in the '60s as middle-class blacks moved in. Now, those blacks see their community threatened by encroaching white yuppies, some of them gay families.

Both times, the people who moved in thought they were going to live there forever. But home was not a haven from a heartless world. The world came to these people's living rooms and forced them to confront their participation in it. With



This Is Our Home, It Is Not For Sale: old neighborhoods die hard.

interviews in people's homes and yards and on the ground where houses once stood before a freeway cut up the neighborhood, Schwartz elicits the story of two transitions. Lightly glossed by home movies and family snapshots filmed as if in reverie, the interviews vividly document the push-pull of domestic myth and social reality. Editing takes the place of narration, with contrasting stories—sometimes between social groups or generations, sometimes even within the same family—creating a many-faceted picture of “the facts.”

Economic and social forces beyond the control of homeowners repeatedly ripped the neighborhood. When blacks first started moving into Riverside, the free market went to work with a vengeance. Real estate operators made a killing, intimidating whites into selling with tactics like paying large, poor families to drive through the neighborhood, pretending to shop for homes. Cheap apartment housing, erected nearby, took the safety pad-

ding out of middle-class comfort. Twenty years later, middle-class blacks are fighting off large institutions: encroachment from a nearby black university and a proposed psychiatric hospital in their neigh-

Interviews in *This Is Our Home, It Is Not For Sale* vividly document the push-pull of domestic myth and social reality.

borhood. Many argue that they would not suffer such institutional encroachment if the neighborhood were still white.

Making a stand: The arrival of blacks stirred deep reserves of prejudice and hostility. One family suffered a bombing. When blacks held

a sit-in to integrate a grocery store soda fountain, the owner—the winner of a B'nai B'rith humanitarian award—eventually resolved the problem by pulling up all the seats, so people could stand together even if they couldn't sit together. The owner's son semiapologetically explains this as a clever compromise; blacks recall it differently, not only from whites but from each other.

The Jews and Episcopalians who once dominated Riverside struggled with their consciences as much as they fought for domestic security. As the first homes went up for sale, some homeowners made a stand, putting, “This Is Our Home, It Is Not For Sale” signs in their front yards. The Episcopal congregation voted to remain in the neighborhood and accept black members, though not without a struggle. The minister recalls seeing people tremble when they knelt at the communion rail with blacks for the first time.

An emotional turning point occurs when the head of the civic club, a gentle liberal, describes the moment

when his daughter called from college asking to bring home a friend. “Daddy, she's a black girl,” his daughter said. He cannot continue; he weeps thinking of his own reaction to the news.

Most of those with not-for-sale signs in their front yards eventually sold, and those who remain sometimes wonder whether they should have; they are left without the community they constructed. Meanwhile, blacks have the same dream of creating a safe haven—in their case, from both ghetto life and the inevitable discrimination of interracial living. They, too, form carpools and worry about schools and hope their children inherit their community. Near the film's end a black woman says, “I hope blacks do what a handful of whites did, and put up a sign saying, ‘This Is Our Home, It Is Not For Sale.’”

Visiting the neighbors: Jon Schwartz has an easygoing, low-key style, but for a first-time director he's got guts—not only to make a documentary but a three-hour documentary. The time passes quickly; think of it as an afternoon visit with the neighbors. The home visits are rich in ethnographic and psychological detail. Schwartz' slightly-larger-than-traditional frame around his interviewees lets you unobtrusively compare the homes of blacks and whites, younger and older. His polite visitor's style lets you listen to the meanings behind the words of the residents' reminiscences. And the panorama of faces and voices lets you hear all sides of the story, forcing you to see the validity—and the limits—of one person's vision of the past.

“Recognizing the prejudice within yourself—that pushes you forward,” Schwartz told *In These Times*. “This is not a movie about crosses burning. Equally relevant is the covert racism. People can have a ‘civil’

manner, and if blacks move in they aren't the first people to sell their house, but they'll be the second.” He also notes there are no easy judgments. “The movie is about contradictions. It's not fair to point a finger and say you were wrong or right. My family finally moved in 1967, and in a way their story was that of everybody in the movie.”

Not everyone wanted the story told: “I approached one man who had lived in the neighborhood and he said, ‘I was always afraid someone would make a movie about that. How much money would it take *not* to make it?’” Schwartz encountered less resistance from blacks than he anticipated. “I think some people did have reservations,” he said. “But someone told me, ‘People are flattered when you ask them to be in a movie,’ and I think that worked in my favor.”

This Is Our Home, It Is Not For Sale explores without exploiting its controversial theme. Paradoxically, it is by focusing closely on the individual neighbors of Riverside that the film builds its case for the social origins of contradictions in the American dream of home ownership. Dealing as it does with an upper middle-class neighborhood, it takes the best-case scenario for the happily-ever-after of upward mobility and shows why it doesn't work despite the best intentions. “I'm not preaching the value of an interracial neighborhood,” Schwartz said. “I'm looking at myths about American community.”

For more information on Asian-American films contact NAATA, 346 9th St., 2nd flr., San Francisco, CA 94103. *Family Gathering* is available from New Day, 853 Broadway, 1210, New York, NY 10003. For more information on *This Is My Home, It Is Not For Sale*, contact Beacon Co., 205 Washington Ave., #4, Santa Monica, CA 90403. ■

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Popular *Girl* needs some work

Working Girl
Directed by Mike Nichols

By Miles Harvey

WORKING GIRL IS AN APPROPRIATE send-off for the Reagan era: like the out-going presidency, Mike Nichols' film has a great plot, punchy dialogue, genuine humor, superb acting, solid directing—and reprehensible ideas.

This movie is an allegory for the '80s—call it an immorality play. *Working Girl* gives us an Everywoman by the name of Tess McGill, a spunky Staten Island secretary who wants to better her lot in life.

Tess (played by Melanie Griffith) hopes to get a promotion at her Wall Street brokerage house. She pursues that goal the new-fashioned way: she

scams it. Posing as a broker, Tess sets up an elaborate plan to prevaricate herself into success and true love. And Nichols seems to think that's just great. *Working Girl* is an odd celebration of corruption—it's like what would happen if *I Love Lucy* starred Ivan Boesky.

Nichols glosses up this little tale of how to succeed in business without really lying by using plenty of shots of the Statue of Liberty—and

FILM

somehow it all comes out looking like the quest for the American Dream. We find ourselves pulling for Tess from machination to machination; after all, in the age of Oliver North, it's not the scandal, it's the thought that counts. By the time our heroine exclaims that “You can bend

the rules plenty upstairs, but when you're someone like me, you can't get upstairs without bending the rules,” it all makes perfect sense.

Leveraged love: Of course, there's a happy ending: girl meets dashing mergers-and-acquisitions man (Harrison Ford), girl gets dashing mergers-and-acquisitions man and an entry-level job as a corporate bureaucrat. What more could a modern girl want?

Plenty. But Tess' aspirations are a perfect Me Too Generation fit: abiding love, cold cash and no conscience. It's true that every era needs its heroes. Perhaps exaltation of white-collar drudgery will be the fate of drama in the Information Age. Indeed, many secretaries may feel inspired—even liberated—by Tess' uncanny rags-to-nicer-looking-rags ascent. But that's too bad, because this film is not about women taking power into their own hands.

Tess winds up being *given* her little plot of corporate America by a benevolent and patriarchal entrepreneur who takes a liking to her after her get-status-quick plot has

been exposed and she faces ruin. *Working Girl* is, after all, about a girl—a nice little girl at that—whose boyfriend sends her off to work with a lunch bucket and “milk money” at the movie's end.

There is only one real woman in the film. She is Tess' boss, Katharine Parker (played by Sigourney Weaver), the educated, intelligent, monied, powerful, beautiful sophisti-

Working Girl is a rags-to-nicer-looking-rags story that is decidedly not about women taking power into their own hands.

cate—or, in the terms of this allegory, The Bitch. Katharine is the American male's dream in a centerfold and worst nightmare in the center office. “The boss from Hell” is what the film's newspaper ads dub her.

It figures then that, possessing education, intelligence, etc., Katharine is also a back-stabbing liar. (When Tess stabs backs and lies, it's so much more, well, cute.) And you can bet that Katharine gets what's coming to her in the end, thanks to the same fatherly big-businessman who helps Tess pull herself up by the garter straps. The message to women from Nichols and screenwriter Kevin Wade is simple: nice little girls get nice little jobs, while threatening bitches get fired.

Foul messages like this are surprisingly easy to swallow when coated with enough cinematic sugar, which is perhaps the real moral of the story. *Working Girl* is unnervingly handsome, good-natured and likable. Just like that old guy who's packing his bags at the White House. ■

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Greenhouse

Continued from page 13

which accumulates in the oceans before diffusing into the atmosphere. Once in the air, DMS leaves behind particles that serve as what British scientist James Lovelock calls "condensation nuclei." From these, many of the world's clouds are formed. Thus the amount of DMS created by plankton also affects the planet's temperature by controlling the density of its heat-reflecting cloud cover.

Ignoring how the plankton—the smallest living plants on Earth—play a critical role in keeping all of us alive would be a fatal mistake. The same holds true for the trees, not only in rain forest regions but in this country as well.

The "tree of life" is no misnomer. Without trees, the amount of carbon dioxide seeping into the atmosphere would become a torrent. But acid rain is already taking a tragic toll on forests in northern and central Europe

and, more recently, in the eastern U.S. Yet the greenhouse effect is likely to take a far greater toll.

"Higher temperatures may reduce soil moisture levels in many parts of the U.S.," the agency's October report continues. "Trees that need wetter soils may die, and their seedlings would have difficulty surviving. A study of forests in northern Mississippi and northern Georgia indicated that seedlings in such areas would not grow because of the dry soil conditions. In central Michigan forests now dominated by sugar maple and oak may be replaced by grasslands, with some sparse oak trees surviving. In northern Minnesota the mixed boreal and northern hardwood forest would become all northern hardwood. The process of changes in species composition would most likely continue for centuries."

Even common species such as the beech tree would be in jeopardy in the eastern U.S., warned University of Minnesota ecologist

Margaret Davis at a November conference. The changing climate would force their range hundreds of miles northward inside of a century. But beech forests, which migrate with the aid of birds and animals that carry their seed into new areas, can move only 15 miles in that amount of time.

The depletion of these trees, of course, means that they would no longer be absorbing CO₂ in their own photosynthesis. And George M. Woodwell, director of the Woods Hole Research Center in Massachusetts, envisions a possible picture far worse than that painted by the EPA. Rising temperatures, Woodwell warns, could substantially increase the respiration rates of trees and soil micro-organisms, especially in the middle and higher latitudes where the warming will be most pronounced. When respiration outpaces photosynthesis, trees release more CO₂ into the atmosphere than they remove. Once this happened for an extended period, they would stop growing altogether and ul-

timately die. A massive forest die-off would release perhaps hundreds of billions of tons more carbon into our overburdened atmosphere.

Wildlife, too, could undergo mass extinctions, according to Robert Peters II, a biologist with the World Wildlife Fund. As species try to escape to cooler safety at higher altitudes, thousands will find their way blocked by highways and housing developments. The very refuges and parks now set aside to preserve wildlife may become deadly traps.

"If you look at the main waterfowl breeding areas of the North American continent," adds Daniel Dudek of the Environmental Defense Fund, "these tend to be concentrated in the prairie parklands region—exactly the areas into which agriculture is expected to be moving. So right away we're going to have a big conflict with the longest-standing wildlife resource that we've managed."

The list of agonizing potentialities goes on. Hotter temperatures would speed the reaction rates among chemical pollutants in the atmosphere, increasing urban air pollution. If less snow and faster evaporation reduced the level of the Great Lakes, there would be less dilution of water pollutants while algae growth proliferated and choked out other forms of life. As insects expanded their range amid more heat waves, they would bring along the diseases they carry, such as malaria and Rocky Mountain spotted fever.

Time is running out: No one knows exactly how rapidly or in precisely what form all these changes might occur. But it is folly not to realize that our profligate combustion and consumption are leading us all toward potential oblivion. Even in seemingly insignificant ways—like taking the kids to McDonald's, or driving off alone to work or school, or leaving the lights and TV sets burning—each of us adds to the problem. And all the while the other end of the cycle is ignored—the need to restore the energy that has been used up.

We are fast approaching the point of no return. The choice is do or die. ☐

Dick Russell writes regularly on environmental issues for *In These Times*.

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PHILADELPHIA

January 17

Candlelight vigil commemorating 44th anniversary of Soviet imprisonment of Raoul Wallenberg, with appeal to USSR for his release and repatriation. Judge Lewis Quadrangle, Independence Mall, north side Market Street between 5th and 6th Streets directly opposite Liberty Bell; 6-7 p.m. Tribute to Wallenberg by Singing City Choir; First Bank of the United States (historic site), west side 3rd Street between Chestnut and Walnut Streets, 8 p.m. Free; tax-deductible contributions appreciated. The Wallenberg Committee of Greater Philadelphia, Inc.; c/o Philadelphia Art Alliance, 251 S. 18th St., Philadelphia, PA 19103, (215) 472-0989. Leona T. Feldman, founder and president.

OMAHA

January 27-29

Vine Deloria Jr. Keynote Address, Author of *Custer Died for Your Sins*. Resource people and activists from all over the country gather in Nebraska for a conference on land tenure ownership. Native American, Chicano, White farmer, Black and international land issues to be addressed. Contact Peggy Folsom at (402) 453-0776 for more information and brochures.

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NATIONAL MOBILIZATION for Survival seeks full-time PROGRAM STAFF PERSON to carry out national program plus administrative work. Minimum three years peace and justice organizing experience required. Benefits. Salary: \$18,000. Resume to: MFS, 45 John St., Suite 811, New York, NY 10038.

UNISERV DIRECTOR - Montgomery County Education Association (Maryland). MCEA recently hired a new Uniserv Director and is now hiring another to meet the needs of its growing membership and expanding programs. MCEA, the nation's fifth-largest local association (representing 7,000 teachers and other educators) is seeking a new staffer ("Uniserv Director"). Responsibilities include: assisting in organizing and developing members' leadership skills; visiting members at work locations; enforcing the Association's negotiated agreement; processing grievances; participating in contract negotiations; assisting in community outreach, coalition building, and public relations activities. Salary and fringe benefits are generous. Send letter of application and resume by

CLASSIFIEDS

Jan. 31, 1989 to Mark Simon, President, Montgomery County Education Association, 60 W. Gude Drive, Rockville, MD 20850. Minorities and women are encouraged to apply.

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AMERICAN ATHEIST. For a sample copy of the magazine, send \$1 to: American Atheist, G.H.Q., P.O. Box 140195, Austin, TX 78714-0195.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International. Call toll-free 800-521-3044. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

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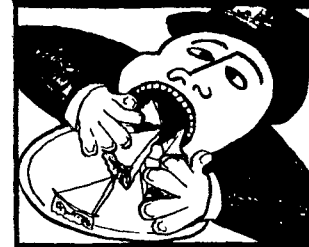
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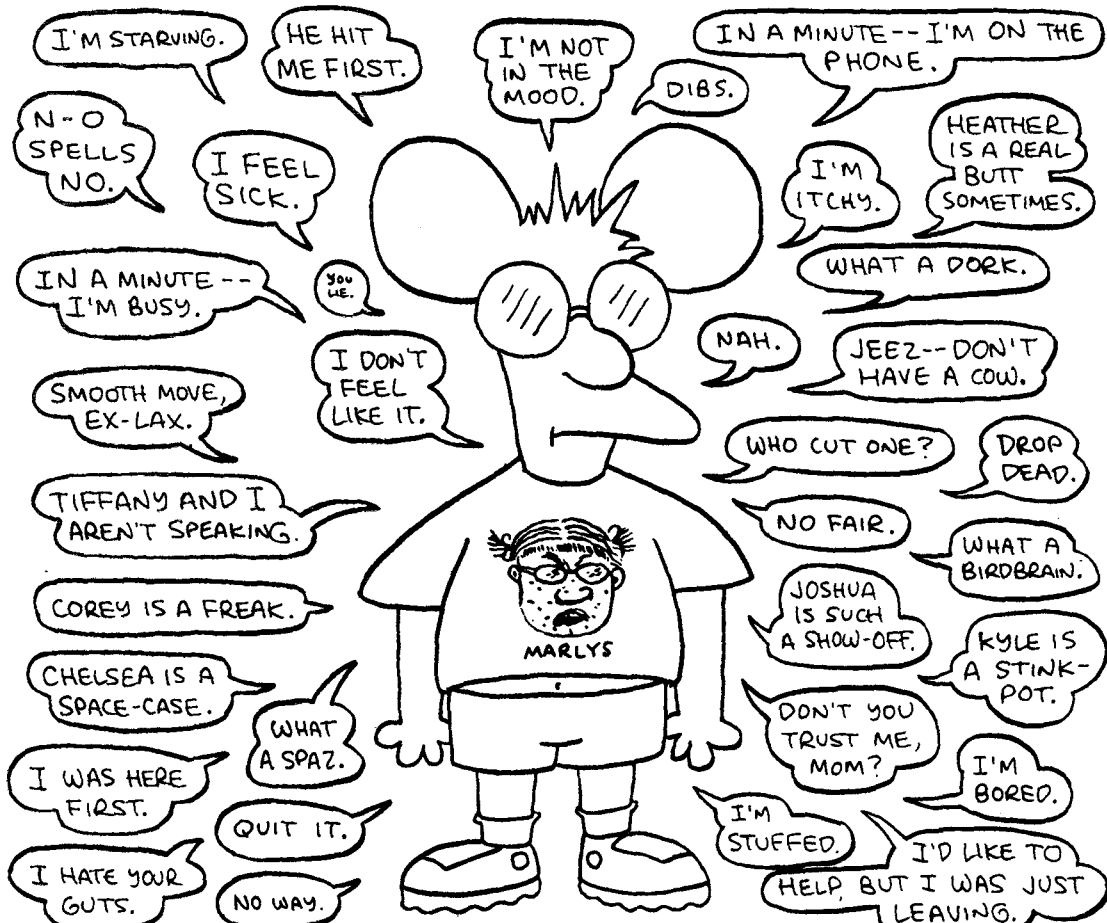
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By Tom Engelhardt

THE LATEST WASHINGTON JOKE GOES this way: "What's the job of the transition team?" Answer: "To inform George Bush that he's no longer vice president." To political insiders who remember the burst of right-wing planning that preceded Ronald Reagan to Washington, George Bush's shuffle-in-place appointments are sure evidence of a president-elect without a "vision thing" that will take him to the day after tomorrow.

In These Times has now learned from a source inside the Bush camp that the president-elect has been badly stung by the swirl of whispers, rumors, media innuendo and Democratic lectures that add up to a portrait of a man girding himself to lead America nowhere. According to the *In These Times* source, a panicky Bush convoked an emergency "war council" late on the night of December 3. Included were newly appointed Secretary of State Jim Baker ("the vice president non-elect"), aide Donald Gregg, Chief of Staff John Sununu and transition team co-chairmen Craig Fuller and Robert Teeter. It was there that George Bush issued his latest marching orders. "Do something!" our source reports him to have said with unusual forcefulness. "And I mean it!"

Deviating from the mean: The result? A policy initiative so audacious that even the most cynical observers may be stunned. In three "leakage-proof" policy papers marked "For Your Eyes Only" and now in the possession of *In These Times*, transition teamers urge the immediate establishment of a vast enterprise code-named Project Promise.

It would involve the launching of a War on Meanness using the full resources of the Pentagon, the State Department, the intelligence agencies and the Coast Guard; the creation of a Nice Corps of youthful volunteers dedicated to the Gentling of America; and the setting up of a Department of Kindness and Gentification (K&G), a cabinet-level organization whose secretary or "czar" would hold unprecedented power to remake America in a Bushier image. The ultimate objectives of Project Promise include the creation of a Kinder Gentler War in Central America, a Kinder Gentler Budget Deficit, a Kinder Gentler Star Wars (including the development of a new breed of Kinder Gentler Killer Satellites nicknamed Santas) and a Kinder Gentler Congress.

The urgency with which transition team members approached their task can be felt from word one. "Historically," the first of their position papers for the president-elect states, "any administration has 100 days to put in place the America it wants to live with. The perception is that you have already had 2,900-plus days and don't deserve more. So pre-empt now, or forget it." Any Department of K&G, the paper points out, will face mean-spirited enemies using methods found in no book of etiquette. "Simply to maintain a posture of Kindliness, no less to impose it on a generally resistant nation, an opposition party and various extremist lobbying groups, not to speak of hostile foreign powers, will take a person of fierce determination and harsh experience."

According to *In These Times'* source, the second K&G paper, the "Leadership Report," is the result of long days spent sifting through the qualifications of 145 potential "czareviches." Three are recommended to the president-elect. His choice will offer a crucial clue to the future scope and impact of a Department of K&G. The candidates are:

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• Sen. Bob ("Serves him right") Dole, choice of the Sununu faction which fears than an effective K&G would be an alternative power center in the new administration. According to our source, the Sununu-ites are convinced that Dole would depth-charge any Department of K&G (and as an added bonus be removed from Senate minority leadership). For the record, however, they argue that only a truly mean man could get the job done (using the analogy that only hardline anti-communists were able to "soften up" the Chinese and Russians).

• Roger "Dr. Feelgood" Ailes is the candidate of the transition faction aligned with Craig Fuller, Bush's former campaign manager who lost out to Sununu as chief of staff. They see a future K&G as a power center for interadministration jockeying, not a place for policy promotion. Ailes, the "wizard" of Bush campaign advertising, is considered the perfect man to hypnotize the American people into K&G at next to no cost to a financially strapped government.

• Donald "Tight Lips" Gregg, national security adviser and confidant to the former VP, is the candidate of the Bakerite majority faction. They make a strong case for Gregg (who reputedly ran part of the contra war from a broom closet in the vice president's office) on two grounds: first, his reputation as a man who keeps his peace ("Everything goes in and nothing comes out") for a president who values silence; second, his military/intelligence background so suitable for running a full-scale K&G War with White House blessing.

In fact, the team's third position paper—"Funding K&G in a Deficit Era: The Technical Problems"—seems written mainly with Gregg in mind. "The problem with all past governmental attempts at K&G was that they were never set up to be pay-as-you-go operations," the paper begins. "In an age when bleeding hearts must be staunch, there is no other way. Fortunately, we have the experience and expertise at hand today to fund a cabinet-level department without going to the Democratic Congress for a cent."

The paper then offers 15 financial "solutions" to this problem, among them:

• Secretly approaching the governments of Saudi Arabia, Taiwan and South Korea to fund K&G in return for what transition teamers call "goodwill."

• "Sharing" Star Wars technology on the open arms market and channeling the profits into K&G.

• Moving the new department into the Environmental Protection Agency's building ("the rent would be free") and renaming it Thousand Points of Light Plaza. The EPA would then be dispersed among the states ("a front line policy for an Environmental Presidency").

Beyond choosing a Secretary of K&G, all that remains to be decided, *In These Times'* source confirms, is whether the new department will be announced in the early weeks of the new administration or slipped quietly into place for fear of opposition. As one transition team member commented to our source, "Without the need to go to Congress, we can dig K&G in so deep that when the American people wake up they won't know what hit them." In any case, what now seems certain is that the "vision thing" is going to be the Real Thing in George Bush's America. ■

Tom Engelhardt was a Washington Insider before he became an editor for Pantheon books.

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